DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES IN KASHMIR

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

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BY

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A B S T R A C T

The present thesis is comprised of five chapters and a conclusion. The chapters of the thesis are arranged in the following order :

1. Islam in Kashmir
2. Development of Ilm al-Tafsir in Kashmir
3. Development of Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir
4. Development of Ilm al-Fiqh in Kashmir
5. Development of Ilm al-Tasawwuf in Kashmir
6. Conclusion

The first chapter is a historical survey of the Islamisation of Kashmir. It starts with the conversion of the people of Kashmir to Islamic world-view and value-system in the early 14th century A.D., at the hands of Syed Sharaf al-Din Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah. The pioneering role of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani in converting the people of Kashmir to Islamic way of life is prominently featured in this chapter. The role of other sufis especially that of Mir Muhammad Hamadani is highlighted in this chapter as well. The role played by local sufis and Rishis in the stabilisation of Islamic way of life in Kashmir is also brought out. The leading role of Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali and Shaikh Hamza Makhdum features prominently in this regard. The historical significance of such leading lights of Kashmir as Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Mulla Muhammad Mohsin Fani, Mulla Kamal Kashmiri and Mulla

Jamal also features in this chapter. The role played by Shah Madrasas as Madrasa Sultan Shihab al-Din, Madrasa Sultan Qutb al-Din, Madrasa Sultan Hasan Shah, Madrasa Sultan Sikandar, Urwat al-Wasqa, Dar al-ulum of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, Madrasa Dar-us-Shifa, Darasgah-i-Mulla Haider, Madrasa Khwajagan-i-Naqshband, Madrasa-i-Syed Mansur and Madrasa-i-Mulla Kamal and Mulla Jamal has also been highlighted in this chapter.

The second chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Tafsir in Kashmir starts with a historical overview of the science of Tafsir. This section gives an outline of the need for and origin of Ilm al-Tafsir. It also features several types of Tafsir, different schools of Tafsir and various stages of Tafsir in their historical perspective. Some leading Tafsirs are mentioned in this section as well.

The Development of Tafsir starts with the Risala Nasikh-wa-Mansukh of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. Hamadani's exegetical efforts in his other books such as Zakhirat al-Muluk is also pointed out in this chapter. Secondly the contribution of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi is also brought out. His incomplete Tafsir entitled Matlub ul-Talibin is specifically discussed. Thirdly an analysis of Shaikh Murad Kashmiri's Jami al-Mufradat (a dictionary of Quranic words) has been carried out. Fourthly, the exegetical contribution of Shaikh Moin al-Din has been broughtout.

His Zubdat al-Tafasir in Arabic and Persian exegesis Sharh al-Quran has been mentioned in this connection. Fifhtly, an analysis of Abdul Rashid Shopiani's Ayat al-Ajaz has been brought out. Sixthly, Allama Anwar Shah Kashmir's contribution to the understanding of the Quran has been detailed. His treatise entitled Mushkilat al-Quran has been specifically mentioned in this context. His other works have also been referred to. Seventhly the Kashmiri Tafsir of Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Shah Baiyan al-Furqan has been discussed. Eighthly Maulana Sa'aduddin's and Gulzar Ahmad Parrey's exegetical contributions have been brought out.

The third chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir also starts with historical overview of Ilm al-Hadith. This section gives an overview of earliest Muhaddithin and also of earliest collections such as al-Mawatta of Imam Malik and Musnad of Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal. It also takes up an analysis of six authentic collections of Hadith as well. The Development of Ilm al-Hadith in India is also summarised upto 14th century when Kashmir was gradually converted to Islamic way of life and Mir Syed Ali Hamadani introduced Ilm al-Hadith along with other Islamic Sciences in Kashmir.

In this connection Mir Syed Ali Hamadani's treatises such as Zakhirat al-Muluk, al-Awardiyah, Chehal Hadith, al-Sabin Fi- Fadail Amir al Muminin, Risala Rauzat al-Firdous, al-Muadah-Fil Qurba-wa-Ahl al-Aba, al-Sab'in

fi Fada'il Amir al Muminin, Arba'in Ameeriyan, etc. have been especially discussed. Secondly, subsequent developments of Ilm al-Hadith in Kashamir have been worked out. The contributions of Allama Daud Mishkati, Maulana Muhammad Sayed Gandsu, Shaikh Muhammad Taqi, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Haji Muhammad Kashmiri, Mulla Jawahar Nath Kashmiri, Maulana Shangraf Kashmiri, Khwaja Haider bin Feroz, Maulana Moin al-Din Naqshbandi, Shaikh Abdul Rahim, Allama Inayatullah Shawl, Muhammad Amin Ghani, Khwaja Muhammad Amin Kashmiri, Shaikh Muhammad Usman Chishti, Mufti Sadar al-Din Azurda, Muhammad bin Inayat Kashmiri, Shaikh Ahmad Waiz Kashmiri and Abdul Rashid Shopiani have been brought out. Thirdly, a detailed discussion pertaining to the significant and original contributions of Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri has been brought out. His books Faid al-Bari fi Sharh Sahih Bukhari, Anwar al-Bari, Anwar al-Mahmud fi Sharh Sunan Abu Da'ud etc., have been discussed in this connection. Fourthly, other contemporary developmens have also been brought out. The role of such religious organisations as Anjuman-i-Nusrat ul-Islam, Anjuman-i-Tabliqh ul-Islam, Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith and Jammat-i-Islami in the dissemination of Ilm al-Hadith has also been brought out. The contributions of Maulana Anwar Shah Shopiani and Maulana Abdul Gani Shopiani have also been specifically highlighted. Lastly a collection on Hadith entitled Hadith Sharief published by Cultural Academy of

Jammu and Kashmir and edited and annotated by Muhammad Abdullah Tari has been discussed in detail.

The fourth chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Fiqh in Kashmir too starts with a historical overview of Ilm al-Fiqh, which traces the development of Ilm al-Fiqh from its earliest beginnings. It gives an analysis of various schools of Fiqh viz. Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi and Hanbali. It discusses the sources of Fiqh according to all those schools and attempts to give an outline of the inter-school disagreements. This section also traces the development of Ilm al-Fiqh in India upto 14th century.

The historical development of Ilm al-Fiqh in Kashmir starts with Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. It give an analysis of the imperative and prohibitive injunctions of Islamic Sharia as outlined in Zakhirat al-Muluk. Secondly the contributions of Mulla Ahmad Allama, Ahmad bin Muhmud bin kamal al-Din Samani, Qazi Haider Kashmiri, Moin al-Din Naqashbandi, Mulla Muhammad Tahir, Maulana Abul Fatah Kaloo, Maulana Muhammad Yousuf, Maulana Ghulam Nabi, Mufti Shaikh Ahmad, Mulla Muhammad Muhsin, Mufti Abul Wafa, Mulla Nur Muhammad, Mulla Muhammad Amin Ghani, Abul Ibrahim Rafiqui, Mulla Haider Pishloo, Maulana Karimullah bin Khaliullah, Mufti Sadar al-Din Azurda, Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi, Muhammad Siddiq Hajini, Maulana Anwar Shah Shopiani and Maulana Abdul Kabir have been outlined. Thirdly, a detailed analysis of the Ka'shir Masal-i-Kitab

(a treatise on Fiqh in Kashmiri) compiled by Maulana Muhammad Hasan Wafa Hanafi Naqashbandi has been worked out. Fourthly, a summary of the contribution by theologians of Markazi Dar al-Fatwa has also been attempted. Fourthly, a detailed account of the contribution of Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri to the development and dissemination of Ilm al-Fiqh has been given in this chapter. Fifthly, the contribution to Ilm al-Fiqh by Anjuman-i-Tabligh ul-Islam has been outlined. Sixthly, the doctrinal point of view held and propagated by traditional theologians of Kashmir has been sketched. The doctrinal puritanism of Anjuman-i-Ahl-Hadith has also been projected in this chapter. The grounds for the repudiation of traditional interpretation of Islamic beliefs and values forwarded by the exponents of Maslak-i-Ahli-Hadith have also been given. Seventhly, some miscellaneous issues of Fiqh in Kashmir has also come up for discussion.

The fifth and the last chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Tasawwuf in Kashmir again features the historical overview of Ilm al-Tasawwuf. The section starts with an etymological debate on such terms as Tasawwuf and Sufism. The main stages of the development of sufism represented by such sufis as Hasan of Basrah, Ibrahim bin Adham, Abu Hasham of Kufa, Muhasibi, Rabia of Basrah, Dhul Nun al-Misri, Bayizid of Bistam, Hallaj and

Shibli have been summarily brought out. The basic books on Tasawwuf have also come up for analysis in this section. The contributions of al Ghazali and Ibn al-Arabi have been specially recorded in this section. Sufi poets such as Sanai,Attar and Rumi have also been mentioned.

The development of Ilm al-Tasawwuf in Kashmir is brought out Order-wise. Firstly, the development of Suharwardi order introduced by Bulbul Shah is highlighted. The important sufis belonging to Suharwardi order of Sufism in Kashmir such as Syed Muhammad Isfahani Janbaz, Syed Ahmad Kirmani, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Baba Daud Khaki, Baba Nasib al-Din Gazi and Khwaja Daud Mishkawti feature prominently in this order. Secondly the development of Kubravi order introduced by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani in Kashmir is discussed. The seminal contribution of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani is especially detailed. The seven cardinal sins in sufi way of life and ten commandments in a sufi's struggle for self-realization and God-realization as pointed out by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani are brought out in this section. Hamadani's classification of various levels of spirituality, various types of sufis and various kinds of paths taken by sufis of different stages is also featured in this section. Apart from mentioning the names of various other Central Asian sufis belonging to Kubravi order, the role of Kashmiri Kubravi saints such as Shaikh Sulaiman, Shaikh Fathullah Hafiz and Baba Ismail

Kubravi is also brought out. The contribution of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi to the development and dissemination of the tenets of Sufism is also highlighted in this section. Thirdly, the development of Naqashbandi and Qadiri orders is given in this chapter. The role of Syed Hilal, Syed Amin Baihaqi, Khwaja Khwand Mahmud and Khwaja Moin al-Din Naqashbandi features with regard to Naqashbandi order and the role played by Syed Niamatullah Qadiri, Shaikh Mirak Mir, Syed Mir Nazuk Niyazi and others is brought out in connection with the development of Qadiri order.

Fourthly, the crucial role played by Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali, the founder of Muslim Rishi order in Kashmir, has been highlighted in this chapter. In this connection Nur al-Din's beliefs such as trust in God, Dependence on God, love of God and values such as forgiveness, compassion, patience, humility etc., have been brought out as vital dynamics in the spiritual quest of the seeker. Fifthly, the philosophy of sufi-poets of Kashmir such as Khwaja Habibullah Nowshahari, Mumin Sahib, Soch-e-Kral Shah Ghafoor, Karam Bland, Rahim Sahib, Na'am Sahib, Shah Qualandar, Shamas Faquir, Ahmad Dar, Waza Mahmud and Wahab Khar, who subscribed to the doctrine of Wahdat al-Wajud has been brought out. Their kashmiri poetic pieces have also been given in English translation.

In the conclusion of this thesis the highlights of the previous chapters have been summarised. Some leading lights of post-Independence era have also been mentioned in the conclusion.

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Dedicated to my beloved

Parents

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that **Mr.Mushtaq Ahmad Wani** has completed his Ph.D. thesis on ***Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir*** under my supervision, and that the work is his own original contribution and suitable for submission for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)** in **Islamic Studies** of this University.

Tayaba Na

(Dr. TAIYABA NASRIN)
Supervisor

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Mushtaq Ahmad Wani

MUSHTAQ AHMAD WANI

P R E F A C E

Most books on history of Kashmir do prominently highlight its transition to Islam during early 14th century and bring out its social, political and cultural development, since then, under the impact of Islamic world-view and value-system. However, historians have been mainly concerned with the interplay of social, political, economic and cultural dynamics within an overall Islamic conceptual frame-work. But no systematic study of the historical development of Islamic sciences in Kashmir has been attempted so far, the valuable work done by some historians of Kashmir in this regard, notwithstanding.

The present thesis attempts to bring out the Development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir. Accordingly, it is featuring, (1) Development of Ilm al-Tafsir, (2) Development of Ilm al-Hadith, (3) Development of Ilm al-Fiqh and (4) Development of Ilm al-Tasawwuf, in their historical perspective. These four chapters constitute the main body of the thesis. To begin with an introductory chapter entitled Islam in Kashmir is given. A conclusion is also suffixed at the end.

The introductory chapter entitled Islam in Kashmir provides an outline of the history of Islam in Kashmir. The role played by such leading personalities as Bulbul Shah, Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali and Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum has been briefly

brought outin this chapter. An account of the contribution of various Madrasas during Shahmiri and Mughal periods to the dissemination of Islamic learning in the valley has also been outlined. In the second chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Tafsir in Kashmir, a historical overview of Ilm al-Tafsir has been given at the beginning. The contributions of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Shaikh Murad Kashmiri, Shaikh Moin al-Din Naqashbandi, Abdul Rashid Shopiani, Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Sa'aduddin and Gulzar Ahmad Parrey have been brought out after the historical overview. In the third chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir, a historical overview of Ilm al-Hadith has been followeld by the contribution of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. A historical account of the contributions of various Muhadldithin upto 20th century has also been worked out. It is followed by a detailed analysis of the significant contribution made by Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri. The contributions of some 20th century religious organisations have also been outlined. The fourth chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Fiqh in Kashmir also features a historical overview of the Ilm al-Fiqh. The contribution of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani is followed by a historical account of the development of Ilm al-Fiqh in Kashmir upto Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri, whose original contribution to Ilm al-Fiqh has also been worked out. An analysis of the

ideological and doctrinal rivalry between the Anjuman Tabligh ul-Islam and Anjuman Ahl-i-Hadith has been incorporated into this chapter as well. Some miscellaneous issues have also been taken up. The fifth chapter entitled Development of Ilm al-Tasawwuf in Kashmir too features a historical overview of Ilm al-Tasawwuf. It is followed by an account of the contribution made by four sufi orders, viz. Suharwardi order, Kubravi order, Naqashbandi order and Qadiri order. The contribution of Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali has also been outlined in this chapter. The seminal insights of some leading sufi-poets also feature in this chapter. Lastly, the concluding chapter has also been incorporated in the thesis.

The work is based on primary and secondary sources. The 20th century developments in Islamic sciences have been culled out from pamphlets, journals and written addresses given by leading lights of some contemporary religious organisations. The method is largely descriptive, historical and analytical. Hopefully, the following pages will provide a clear account of the development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir.

Chapter - I

ISLAM IN KASHMIR

CHAPTER - I

ISLAM IN KASHMIR

Islam as an ideology, a world-view and a value system developed and expanded into an international and intercontinental religion with unparalleled rapidity in the annals of human history. Within a hundred years of its inception, it occupied large parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. In the Indian subcontinent Sindh was the first province to fall to the military expedition of Arabs led by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 A.D. The beautiful valley of Kashmir did also attract the attention of Arab conquerers of Sindh. But Muhammad bin-Qasim was called back to Damascus and the then ruler of Kashmir Chandrapida could save his Kingdom by a great stroke of luck. A later king Lalitaditya is said to have repulsed an Arab attack from Sindh under Junaid. However, in the coming decades the Kingdom of Kashmir remained under the pressure of Muslims.[1] The Arabs continued their military operations against the week successors of Lalitaditya. However, these expeditions proved unsuccessful.

Subsequently, Turks made several unsuccessful efforts to capture Kashmir. When Sangramaraja (1003-1028 A.D.) ruled Kashmir, Mahmud of Ghazna in 1015 & 1021 AD led two expeditions to capture Kashmir. But the mountainous paths proveld too difficult for Mahmud and he too could not capture the valley.[2] For the next two hundred years Kashmir remained, by and large, peaceful.

One of its Kings Jayasimha (1128-1155 A.D.) himself broke the lull by leading a successful military operation against the Turks. He was assisted in this operation against Turks by reinforcements from rulers of Nagarkot and Punjab.[3]

Although these expeditions of Arabs and Turks could not achieve worthwhile success militarily or politically, nontheless, they did try to change the social and cultural scenario of Kashmir by developing considerable interaction between Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir. Hindu Kings employed Turkish captains in their armies. But most importantly perceptible Muslim population developed within the valley after 11th century A.D.

An important event of the Kashmir's history of this period is the invasion of Zulja, who probably came from Turkistan. He invaded Kashmir by the Jehlum valley route and within a short span of time destroyed the whole political structure of Kashmir and brought about immense devastation.[4]

A refugee prince from Ladakh namely Rinchana came to the rescue of Kashmir and tried to fill in the political and administrative vacuum. He was a man of strong political ambitions. After becoming the King of Kashmir, he displayed remarkable political leadership and administrative acumen and restored peace and order in the Kingdom.[5] But the most important and most interesting

aspect of King Richana's story is his conversion to Islam. There are conflicting opinions put forward by different historians about the conversion of Rinchana Shah to Islam. According to one such story Rinchana (1320-23 A.D.), originally a Buddhist, was converted to Islam by Bulbul Shah[6], in the beginning of fourteenth century during the reign of Simha Deva.[7] Some other historians find it difficult to accept this version of Rinchana's conversion to Islam. For example, M.L. Kapur thinks that Rinchana was not a religious - minded person who was converted to Islam out of personal conviction.[8] His conversion was rather politically motivated. He was a foreigner and needed local support to strengthen his political base. He, therefore, turned to the then Hindu majority for acceptance into the Hindu fold. But when they declined to oblige him on casteist and social grounds, he turned to Islam which was the next popular religion of the times and adopted it at the hands of Bulbul Shah. Shah Mir who later on ruled Kashmir also played a crucial role in the conversion of Rinchana to Islam.[9]

The royal patronagle which Islam secured, won for it many new converts. After the conversion of Rinchana Shah, his brother-in-law and commander - in-chief and several others embraced Islam. A place of residence for Bulbul Shah was set up on the banks of Vitasta known as Bulbul Lankar. The first mosque in Kashmir was also built

up at the same place and played a crucial role in the Islamization of Kashmir during this period.[10] Bulbul Shah died in 1327 A.D. According to one estimate, as many as ten thousand Hindus embraced Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah. A revolution of far reaching consequences took place silently and imperceptibly.[11]

Rinchana's rule lasted for a short period from 1320 to 1323 A.D. After his death, the country reverted temporarily to the rule of Hindu Kings. But in 1339 A.D., the rule of Muslim Kings returned under Shah Mir whose descendents continued to weild the sceptre for over two centuries.[12]

After Bulbul Shah some prominent sufis arrived in kashmir to encourage the spread of Islam in the valley. Shaikh Jalal al-Din of Bukhara, known as Makhdum Jahanian Jahangir arrived in Kashmir in 1347 A.D. He was the disciple of Shaikh Rakun al-Din Alam. He stayed in Kashmir for a short time and left for his native place. Syed Taj al-Din, the cousin of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani arrived in 1358 A.D., during the rule of Sultan Shihab al-Din. His companions were Syed Masud and Syed Yusuf and all the three are buried in Kashmir in Mohallah Shihab al-Din pora in Srinagar. Syed Husain Simnani, the younger brother of Syed Taj al-Din too arrived to preach Islam in Kashmir in 1371 A.D. These Syeds formed an intermediate link between Bulbul Shah and Mir Syed Ali Hamadani also known as Shah

Hamadan, who are credited to have played an extraordinary role in the religious-cultural conversion of Kashmiri people from Hinduism to Islam.[13]

Shah Hamadan's contribution to the spread of Islam in Kashmir cannot be over-emphasized. It was his efforts that decisively changed the religious scenario of Kashmir and permanently transformed its entire cultural matrix.

Shah Hamadan was born on 12th of Rajjab 714 A.H. (1314 A.D.) at Hamadan in Persia. He delved deep into Islamic theology and studied other contemporary sciences under the guidance of Syed Ala al-Din. He travelled extensively for a period of 21 years throughout Asian, African and European countries. He also developed relationships with prominent sufis and scholars of his age and acquired expertise in theology, Sufism and other Islamic Sciences. The persecution of Syeds at the hands of Timur, actuated him to travel to Kashmir. According to one report seven hundred Syeds accompanied him on his way to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shahab al-Din in 1372 A.D.[14]

His next Sojourn to Kashmir was in 1379A.D. i.e. during the reign of Sultan Qutab al-Din, this time he stayed in valley for two and a half years. Shah Hamadan visited Kashmir in 1383 A.D. as well. However, he had to leave Kashmir on account of his ill health.[15]

Shah Hamadan left a score of his disciples behind him who spread Islam in every nook and corner of Kashmir. His co-missionaries included such luminaries as Mir Syed Haider, Syed Jamal al-Din, Syed Kamal Syed Kamal Sani, Syed Jamal al-Din Alai, Syed Muhammad Kazim, Syed Feroz alias Syed Jalal, Syed Rukn al-Din, Syed Muhammad Qureshi and Syed Azizallah. They founded hospices all over the Kingdom of Kashmir which became centres for the dissemination of the message of Islam.[16] The converts wilingly converted temples into mosques. It is also reported that two prominent Sanyasis (Hindu ascetics) along with their disciples accepted Islam owing to certain miraculous powers displayed by Shah Hamadan during a competitive trial of their supernatural powers.[17]

Shah Hamadan was succeeded by his son Mir Muhammad Hamadani in his mission of spreading the message of Islam in Kashmir. Mir Muhammad was born in 1372 A.D. He was only twelve years old when his father expired. When Mir Muhammad Hamadani completed his formal education at the feet of Khwaja Ishaq and Mulana Nur al-Din, he moved from place to place. At the age of 22 years, he arrived in the valley in 1393 A.D., during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He was accompanied by three hundred Syeds.[18] Sikandar received Mir Muhammad with great honour. He vigorously preached the teachings of Islam in the valley and instructed Sikandar in the real spirit of Islam. He also

impressed upon the ruler to implement sharia laws and prohibit unlawful things and practices.

It was at the insistence of Mir Muhammad that Sikandar banned distillation. The sale and use of wine were prohibited.[19] The barbaric practice of sati among Hindus too was forbidden at the instance of Mir Muhammad.[20] Such practices as gambling and nautches were banned as well.[21]

By persuading Suha Bhatta, the Prime Minister and Chief-commander in the reign of Sultan Sikandar, to embrace Islam, Mir Muhammad achieved another breakthough in the propagation of Islam in the valley of Kashmir.[22] Suha Batta was a Brahmin and a powerful personality of his times. He was greatly impressed by the towering personality of Mir Muhammad. The simplicity of Islamic faith and its powerful presentations by Mir Muhammad finally convinceld Suha Batta of the validity of Islam and he along with his family embraced Islam. Suha Batta adopted the Islamic name of Saif al-Din and became subsequently popular as Malik Saif al-Din. Mir Muhammad consolidated the gains made by hundreds of Syeds especially by his illustrious father and Bulbul Shah. He stayed in the valley for a period of 22 years[23], and then left for Mecca for a pilgrimage.[24] He died in 1450 A.D. and was buried near his father at Khatlan.

Mir Muhammad appears to have exercised great influence on the reigning King, Sultan Sikandar. While

Shah Hamadan preached the fundamental doctrines of Islam, Mir Muhammad laid stress on the lawful and unlawful injunctions of Islam and emphasised the standards of Sharia. By converting Suha Bhatta, Mir Muhammad galvanised other non-Muslims to follow Suha Bhatta as their role model and thus made a crucial contribution to the spread of Islam in Kashmir.

Hundreds of Syeds who migrated from Central Asia to Kashmir unleashed a virtual social revolution by transforming the religious belief-system of the people of the valley. These Syeds apart from being greats cholars of Islam, were practising sufis and their teachings and personal example appears to have generated a receptive atmosphere to Sufi practices. Buddhism and Vedanta had already prepared the ground for other-worldliness.[25] Sufi doctrines preached by these Syeds were, therefore, received with great enthusiasm and deep conviction throughout the valley. The central Asian Syeds inspired local people to adopt Sufi way of life. Resultantly, a long chain of divines from local people who became popularly known as rishis or Babas emerged who, in their turn, strengthened the cause of Islam with great distinction. These Kashmiri rishis were extremely pious, selfless and contented. They were not great scholars or theologians. However, their utter simplicity and unpretentious behaviour had a captivating and charismatic

power over people of the Valley. Many historians including Abu Fazal have described them in words of high praise. They recorded that these simple men of God abstained from luxury, lived on berries and wild fruits of the mountains and were confined to the remote corners of jungles and vales for purposes of seculsion and meditation.[26]

Many rishis founded Monastaries which subsequently became centres of learning and meditation. Even now the shrines of these rishis emphasise austerity and virtuousness as practised by these rishis centuries ago. Such saints and rishis as Shaikh Nur al-Din, Baba Nasir al-Din, Baba Bam al-Din, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Syed Ahmad Kirmani, Syed Muhammad Hisari, Baba Zain al-Din, Baba Latif al-Din, Shikur al-Din, Hanif al-Din, Shah Wali Bukhari, Said Baba, Khwaja Hasan Kari etc., by their examplary conduct and clear and categorical teachings paved the way for the slow and steady conversion of the whole valley of Kashmir to the fold of Islam.[27]

The most important and seminal Sufi Saint of the times was Shaikh Nur al-Din Noorani. He is considered as the national patron-Saint and the presiding spiritual guide of Kashmir. He was born in a village called Kaimuh in the southern part of Anantnag division in Kashmir valley on the day of Baqr-Id in 779 A.H. (1377 A.D.). His parents Salar al-Din and Sudra were newly converted Muslims of Rajput background and were deeply imbued by

beliefs and values of Islam. Shaikh grew in an atmosphere of deep religious piety and imbibed the spiritual orientations through his childhood contacts with Lalla Ded, herself a Saint-poetess of great repute. He came into contact with many rishis of his times and although he started his career as a businessman, he eventually emerged into a Saint of highest reputation and became widely popular throughout the entire valley of Kashmir. The simplicity and purity of Shaikh Nur al-Din has deeply impressed the Kashmiri people who entertain the highest veneration for the saint. The episodes and anecdotes of his life are on the lips of Kashmiri people. Shaikh Nur al-Din passed a life of extreme piety and is generally regarded as the founder of rishi order in Kashmir.[28]

The period of Chak rulers saw the spread and ascendency of Shiaism in Kashmir. The most notable missionary of Shia Islam was Mir Shams al-Din. He entered the valley of Kashmir in 1496 A.D.[29] He was sent by Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqra of Herat who was himself influenced by the doctrines and teachings of Nurbakhshiya order. His assignment was to propagate the tenets of the same order. In view of wide spread acceptance of Sunni beiefs in the valey, the Mir could not openly preach and teach the tenets of Shia sect of Islam. So he carried on a calendestine compaign. Within a brief span of time Mir coud convert chaks to Shia faith and also baptised Musa

Raina to Shia interpretation of Islam.[30] Thus he was able to get official patronage for the cause of Shia Islam. Musa Raina who was an influential noble gave him financial help and offered him lands at Judibal whereupon a Khanqah was built in 1505 A.D.

Scholars differ as to the exact assignment and mission of Mir Shams al-Din Iraqi. Some say he was influenced by the Nurbakhshiya teachings who look upon Syed Muhammad Nur-Bakhsh as "the lord of the age and promised Mahdi". Others believe that Mir was a pure and unalloyed missionary. Shia interpretation of Islam was given widespread recognition and acceptance through his great missionary efforts. He converted chak clan to Shiaism and also converted thousands of Hindus to the outlook of Asna Asharism.[31] Nevertheless, Shia doctrines, could not get the better of Sunni Islam and the valley remained, by and large, a citadel of Sunni Islam. Mir Shams al-Din died in 1526 A.D. and was buried at Judibal. His tomb is a centre of great attraction for the Shias of Kashmir till this day.

Mir Shams al-Din Iraqi's vigorous espousal and propagation of Shiaism alarmed Sunni's of the valley and they found a forceful champion and representative of Sunni orthodoxy in the personage of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum (1494-1576 A.D.). There are popular anecdotes involving Shaikh Hamza Makhdum and Mir Shams al-Din Iraqi in

competitive spiritual strategems and counter-strategems in which sunnis believe that spiritually advanced Shaikh of Kashmir outsmarted the venerable Mir of Iraq. However, these anecdotes appear to have little historical validity. Nevertheless, it is agreed by all historians that Shaikh exercised a great check on the spread of Shiaism in Kashmir.[32] He also built a number of mosques in the valley. Besides, Shaikh also played a political role. He sent a delegation under the leadership of his disciple Baba Daud Khaki and Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi to the court of Akbar and invited him to liberate Kashmir from the alleged excesses of Chak rulers.[33]

Shaikh Hamza died in 1576 A.D. He is buried on the slope of Hariprabat or Kohi Maran. His grave is still a centre of attraction for most Muslims of the valley of Kashmir and he is one of the immortals of religious leaders in the history of Islam in Kashmir.[34]

Most historians of Islam in Kashmir agree that Islam entered the valley of Kashmir peacefully and in the best traditions of religious tolerance and humanistic compassion. A notable historian of Kashmir G.M.D. Sufi says :

> "From first to last the spread of Islam has been on the whole, generally peaceful. At any rate, Islam was never introduced into the valley by a conqueror like Mahmud nor a warrior like Shihabuddin nor a general like Muhammad-bin-Qasim; in fact the process was reversed. Islam was introduced by a Simple Faqir (Bulbul Shah), whose simplicity and piety impressed, the reignging sovereign of

> the time (Rinchana Shah). The work was taken up and continued by Faqirs, though occasionally stimulated by Sultans like Sikandar; its widespread peaceful penetration was due to the piety, purity and simplicity of the Rishis and Saints who denied pleasures to themselves and worked for others. Thus the great Prophet who took pride in Faqr, found Fuqarh (Faqirs) to propagate his faith in the valley of Kashmir".[35]

Islam became politically ascendent when Rinchana was converted into Islam. Rinchana was temporarily followed by Udyandeva (1323-1338) and Kota Rani (1338-39). Shah Mir (1339-42), the founder of Shah Miri dynasty heralded the era of Islamic rule in Kashmir on the firm basis. He may therefore, be regarded as the real founder of Muslim sultanate in Kashmir.[36] Shah Miri dynasty ruled over Kashmir from 1339 upto 1555 i.e. a period of 216 years.

The Shah Miri dynasty was followed by Chak dynasty. This dynasty consisted of Ghazi Chak (1555-63), Husain Shah Chak (1563-70), Ali Shah Chak (1570-79), Yusuf Shah Chak (1579), Syed Mubarak Baihaqi (1579) Lahur Shah Chak (1579-80) Yousuf Shah Chak (1580-86) and Yaqub Shah Chak (1586).[37]

Thereafter, Kashmir came under Mughals. The Mughal rule lasted from 1586 upto 1752 A.D. i.e. for a period of 166 years. The Mughals ruled through their nominated governors. The Afghan rule lasted over Kashmir from 1752 A.D. upto 1819 A.D. The Muslim rule of Kashmir ended in

1819 A.D., when Ranjit Singh of Lahore defeated Afghans in Kashmir valley.[38]

Development of Islamic Learning :

The sultans and rulers of Kashmir not only patronised Islam in Kashmir but also established schools, colleges and institutions of learning. Sultan Qutub al-Din for instance established an institution of higher learning at Qutub al-Din Pora.[39] It was headed by Mir Haji Mohammad Qari. The school continued disseminating Islamic learning till Sikh rule was established in kashmir in 1819 A.D. Eminent professors and scholars were employed to teach in this institution. Mulla Jawahar Nath headed this institution during the rule of Jahangir. The distinguished philosopher-poet of Kashmir, Mulla Mohsin Fani and Mulla Abdus Sattar Mufti were too on the faculty of this school. The school turned out such eminent personages as Shaikh Rahmatullah Tarably, Mulla Tahir Gani Ashai, the poet, Muhammad Zaman Nafi, the historian, Khwaja Quasim Tirmizi and Mulla Muhammad Kaosa.[40]

Sultan Sikandar too was a great patron of learning. His liberal patronage of scholars and intellectuals attracted distinguished and highly competent assembly of persons from such far off places as Iraq and Khurasan to his court. He built a college near his Jamia Masjid.[41] The college was presided over by Quazi Mir Muhammad Ali. Such distinguished teachers as Mulla Muhammad Afzal, Mulla

Muhammad Yousuf, Mulla Sadru al-Din Khashi and Syed Hussain Mantiqi, taught Hadith, Philosophy, Mathematics, and logic and metaphysics respectively at this institution.[42] A university of higher learning called Dar al-ulum was established by Zain al-Abidin popularly known as Bad-Shah, at Naushera, his capital. Mulla Kabir Nahwi who was widely respected for his scholarship and learning and was the then Shaik al-Islam was the rector of this University. The faculty members of this University were such noted scholars as Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri, Mulla Hafiz Bagdadi, Mulla Parsa Bokhari, Mulla Jamal al-Din Kharzimi, Mir Ali Bukhari, Mulla Yousuf Rashidi etc.[43] The University established a translation bureau in which books from Arabic and Sanskrit were translated into Persian and Kashmiri. Zain al-Abidin took pains to secure books and manuscripts from different libraries of Central Asia and succeeded in establishing a great library under the auspices of the University. Apart from this central University, the Sultan established various institutions throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir valley.[44]

Another important institution of learning was established by Sultan Hussain Shah. Baba Ismail, Sultan's Pir, was the inspiration behind the establishment of this college. Shaikh Fatehullah Haqqani was the principal of the college.[45] Akhund Mulla Darvesh was also on the faculty of the college. The college had the unique

distinction of turning out such a distinguished scholar and saint of Kashmir as Shaikh Hamza Makhdum.[46]

Mulla Haider Allama established Darasqah-i-Mulla Haider during the reign of Jahangir. The school turned out a great crop of eminent scholars and thinkers of the times. Madrasa Khwajagani Naqshband was established by Khwaja Khawand Muhammad Naqshbandi in Khwaja Bazar during the rule of Shah Jahan. The principal of the Madrasa was Mulla Haqadad of Badakhshan.[47]

School of Sufism was established by Prince Dara-Shuikoh in 1713 A.D., Madrassa-i-Syed Mansur was founded under the patronage of Nawab Inayat Khan, Nizam of Kashmir. The head of the institution was Akhund Mulla Sulaiman Kallu. During the same period Madrassa-i-Mulla Kamal and Mulla Jamal was established. The school was blessed with such students as Shaikh Ismail Chishti, Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi and Quazi Abdul Quasim.[48]

Shaikh Yaqub Sarafi (1521-1594) was the most distinguished scholar of Kashmir of his times. He was a man of vast learning and deep erudition. He was also a great scholar of prophetic traditions and was deeply imbued in the writings of Mohi al-Din ibn al-Arabi. He authored a number of treatises and also wrote a commentary on the mystical philosophy of Sufis. He had deeply studied various commentaries on Quran. He was deemed ultimate court of appeal in religious controversies. Shaikh was an

excellent and accomplished poet as well.[49] Another distinguished philosopher-poet of 17th century Kashmir was Mulla Muhammad Mohsin Fani (1646-1716). Fani was a member of a reputed family known for its great culture and wide learning. Fani is famous for his authorship of Dabistan al-Mazahib.[50] The ulema of Kashmir were up against Fani and consensually pronounced him to be a murtad (Apostate). Dabistan[51] is a commentary on the religious and philosophical creeds of the people of Asia.

Mulla Muhasin Fani was deeply drunk in philosophical treatises. He had made extensive travels to central Asia. He stayed for years at Balkh and Khurasan. He had made extensive study of Parsism at Khurasan. Besides, Fani had freely mixed with men of all religious, sects and denominations. He was in constant correspondence with Guru Gobind Singh Ji Maharaj. He was a born free thinker and a man of liberal disposition and temperament. This made him a target of attack by ulama.[52]

Mulla Kamal Kashmiri also distinguished himself as a great teacher and scholar of his time. His pupils included such distinguished personages as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mulla Abul Hakim Sialkoti and Nawab Sadullah Allami, the Prime Minister of Shahjahan.

Mulla Kamal was born in Kashmir in 16th century. His exact date of birth is not available. He is said to have died in 1608 A.D. in Jahangir's reign. Mulla Kamal

was taught by Baba Fatahullah Haqqani. Due to Shia-Sunni strike Baba Fathullah Haqqani had to migrate to Sialkot. Mullah Kamal accompanied his teacher. He completed his education under Haqqani and got married to Haqqani's daughter. His another brother Mulla Jamal too was married to the second daughter of Haqqani. Mullah Kamal taught at Lahore and finally died at Lahore. He imparted instructions in the Mosque of Miyan Waris. Mulla Kamal because of his eminence was entitled as Allama Mashriqain and Muallim-us-Saqalain.[53]

Maulana Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, originally a Kashmiri of 17th century, was a man of exceptional scholastic and spiritual talents. He was a class-fellow of Mujadid Alf-i-Sani, Shaikh Kamal al-Din Kashmiri was their mentor. Eventually Maulana Abdul Hakim subjected himself to the spiritual mentorship of Mujadid. He authored Dalial al-Tajdid (Arguments for Revival). In this book Shaikh advanced cogent arguments in support of Mujadid's advocacy of the necessity, validity and authenticity of the need for the revival of spirituality after the thousand years of the advent of Islam. The Mujadid blessed him with the title of Aftab-i-Punjab.[54]

Maulana Abdul Hakim remained busy with teaching and writing till very advanced years of his life. He had an exhaustive library in which highly treasured books on logic, philosophy, exegesis and ethics were collected from

far-off places. Maulana specialised in such subjects as etymology, scholasticism, logic, philosophy and ethics. A highly prized philosophical treatise of Maulana entitled Sukuti-al-Tassavurat was later on published from Cairo, Egypt.[55]

During 18th and 19th centuries Kashmiri sufi-poets kept the flag of sufi philosophy flying. They were interested in the philosophy and ideology of Islam. However, their mode of expression and understanding of Islamic doctrines was poetic. They were greatly impressed by Persian poetry. The mystical poetry of Hakim Abu al-Majid Majdud ibn Adam Sanai (d. 1130), Khwaja Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1220) and Mualana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) especially attuned them to express their understanding of Islam through Kashmiri Sufi poetry. Amongst classical Kashmiri poets they were inspired by Lalla Ded and Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali. The cumulative impact of the Persian and Kashmiri mystic poets was that most of the Kashmiri poets of 18th and 19th century became wedded to the philosophy of Wahdt al-Wujud originally systematised by Ibn al-Arabi. The prominent sufi-poets of this period were Mumin Sahib (18th century), Such-e-Kral (1774-1854), Shah Ghafoor (18th/19th centuries), Karm Buland (d. 1844), Rahman Dar (d. 1875), Rahim Sahib Sopori (1755-1870), Na'am Sahib (1805-1880), Shah Qualandar (d. 1880) and Shams Faqir (1843-1901).[56]

Among 20th century scholars of Kashmir, the name of Allamah Anwar Shah Kashmiri, is by the most outstanding one. He was an exceptionally brilliant scholar of Islamic theology. He was a rector of Darul-ulum Deoband, and was considered a leading authority on Hadith and universally acclaimed as a highly gifted theologian.

Furthermore, in 20th century four religious organisations, namely; Anjuman-i-Nusrat al-Islam, Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Anjuman-i-Tabliqh al-Islam and Jammat-i-Islami advanced their views on Islam, albeit, within their respective ideological perspectives. The Anjuman-i- Nusrat al-Islam stood for social reform and educational advancement. The Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith laid stress on doctrinal purity and elimination of what they called Bida (innovations). The Anjuman-i-Tabligh al-Islam advocated what they called Hanfi Maslak and Sufi-Mashrab. The Jammat-i-Islami emphasised on social, political and economic transformation of Kashmir through what they called Iqamat-i-Din. These organisations featured Dars-i-Quran, Dars-i-Hadith and analysis of legal matters through their periodicals, journals and booklets.

Thus, during seven hundred years of Kashmir's Islamic history, the scholars of the valley struggled with Islamic discourse. They were especially interested in the understanding, analysis and dissemination of Islamic sciences, viz. Ilm al-Tafsir, Ilm al-Hadith, Ilm al-Fiqh

and Ilm al-Tasawwuf. It cannot be claimed that scholars of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir have made original contributions or worked out path-breaking interpretations of Islamic beliefs, values and injunctions. They were deeply influenced by Central Asian and Persian Scholars and, by and large, followed their lead. However, they still made considerable and, at times, significant contributions to the development of Islamic sciences in their specific cultural and historical context.

Accordingly, the present thesis is outlining the development of Islamic Sciences in Kashmir in the following chapters.

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51. It consists of twelve main sections, each section called Talim. The sections are as hereunder : (i) Parsis, (ii) Hindus including Sikhs, (iii) Qara Tibbates, (iv) Jews, (v) Christians, (vi) Muslims, (vii) Siddiqis, (viii) Wahidis, (ix) Raushnais, (x) Ilahis, (xi) Philosophers, (xii) Sufis. The author of Dibistan has given a learned interpretation of these religions and sects and provided useful information regarding the same as well.

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Chapter - II

DEVELOPMENT OF ILM al-TAFSIR IN KASHMIR

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Historical Overview :

The Quran is the focal point of Muslim thought and civilisation. It inaugurated and sustained one of the greatest social changes in the history of mankind. Hundreds of thousands of pages have been written in the Arabic and non-Arabic languages with a view to grasp its message of guidance. Thousands of philologists, linguists, semanticists, morphologists, grammarians, logicians, philosophers, historians and social scientists have carried out intensive and extensive investigations into its body-corpus to bring out the multi-dimensional and multifunctional revolution it has brought about in the social, political, economic, religious, moral, intellectual and cultural evolution of mankind. While the Quranic discourse, semantically speaking, continues to be inexhaustible and therefore ever-fresh, human learning and scholarship are bound to grow stale. While the divinely ordained Quranic discourse incorporates a perennial message of guidance, our understanding of the Quran is bound to be situationally determined, and, in course of time, get methodologically outdated. In view of the same, every age needs to update its understanding of the Quran afresh. The science of the 'Quranic Exegesis' or 'Tafsir' originated precisely because of this field-situation. The

Quranic message of guidance needs to be clarified from time to time and place to place, in fact, to human beings of different historical eras and diverse cultural backgrounds.

Etymologically speaking, the root word of Tafsir, is 'f-s-r' which means 'To divulge', 'To clarify', 'To unveil' etc. The exposition and elucidation of a word is called 'Tafsir', thereby indicating that its core meaning or central contention is to be divulged or unveiled. It is a science through which the injunctions of the Quran are to be explained. Tafsir has been defined to be a science, which, so far as it is humanly possible 'albeit' permissible within the principles of Arabic language and literature, addresses itself to the task of analysing and clarifying the problems, disputations, questions, controversies that arise in our quest for understanding of the Quran.

Al-Suyuti in his al-Ittiqan Fi-ulum al-Quran defines Tafsir as "the knowledge of revelation of the verses and of the conditions of the stories and causes of revelation; of the arrangement of Makkan and Madinan verses; of the clear verses and allegorical verses; of the abrogated and abrogators; of the specific and generic; of the absolutive and restrictive; of the comprehensive and elucidative, of the lawful and prohibited; of the promise and threat; of the imperatives and preventives and of the

admonition and parable".[1] Imam Zarkashi has defined Tafsir as a "Science through which the meanings, injunctions, secrets and judgements of the Quran revealed to the prophet Muhammad(s) are debated and understood".[2] The author of the Minhajul-Quran defines Tafsir to be a "Science in which the debate pertaining to the contention of Allah in the Quranic discourse is conducted".[3]

The word 'Tafsir' may be compared and contrasted with the word 'Ta'wil'. Etymologically, the word 'Tawil' is derived from 'Awl' which means to turn back. A person who undertakes Tawil turns back to one of the various meanings of a word or an expression and settles for one that is most appropriate in the given context. Some scholars derive word 'Tawil' from 'Ayalah' which means politics and government. From this it can be inferred that one who undertakes Tawil actually governs or presides over the arrangement or settlement of words and fixes them at their appropriate places and in accordance with their most appropriate meanings.[4]

The word 'Tawil' has been used differently in various verses of the Quran. For example it means, "hidden meaning" (3:7), result or deduction (4:59), interpretation of dreams (12:44) and reason or motive (18:87, 82).

However, one can safely assume that the word 'Tawil' was used in the sense of explaining the meanings of the Quran which may be different from its apparent meanings.[5]

According to scholars of the science of Tafsir, Tafsir literature may be classified into three divisions: Al Tafsir bi-al Riwayah (Al-Mathur); Al Tafsir bi-al-Diraya (Tafsir bi al Ra'i) and Al Tafsir bi-al-isharai (Tafsir al-isharai). Al Tafsir bi-al-Riwayah (Al-Mathur) connotes illustration of the various Quranic verses with some of its other verses. It further connotes elucidation of the Quranic discourse with reference to the traditions of the prophet(s) or the statements of the Sahabah (companions of the prophet). Many distinguished exegists have explained certain parts of the Quran with some other pertinent verses. Numerous relevent traditions of the prophet and 'Athar' of the Sahabah have also been qucted by the practitioners of Tafsir bi al Ma'thur while explaining the Quranic discourse.[6]

Al-Tafsir bi-al Diraya (Tafsir bi-al Rai) connotes explaining of the Quranic discourse through Ijtihad or independent opinion. A righteous, God-fearing albeit an advanced scholar of Arabic language, literature, culture and history with good knowledge of Judeo-Christian traditions has been deemed competent enough to interpret the Quranic verses in accordance with his own conscience and authentic insights.[7] However, certain scholars have disapproved of Tafsir bi-al Diraya, fearing that independent and even authentic exegetical pronouncements by various interpreters would eventually open up the door for unscruplous elements to forward their personal

versions dictated either by their own wordly considerations or ideological persuasions.[8]

Al Tafsir-bi-al-Isharai (Tafsir al-isharai) connotes an interpretation of the Quran different from its apparent meaning. It is to see a hidden meaning of the verse as against its manifest meaning. Ibn Abass's interpretation of the verse (110:1) is often quoted by scholars in support of validity of Tafsir-al - isharai. However, Tafsir-al - isharai has been unacceptable to various scholars. They have argued that acceptance and practice of Tafsir-al-isharai would lead to unnecessary and uncalled for mystical interpretation of the Quranic discourse.[9]

The origin and development of Tafsir can be traced from the specific and special conditions in which the Quran was revealed to the prophet(s) of Islam. The Quran was revealed as a paradigm of profound eloquence. Arabs who constituted its immediate audience and readership were mesmerised both by its substance and style. However, all Arabs were not equally competent to grasp and appreciatle the Quranic message. Even some of the most erudite companions of the prophet(s) faced difficulties in comprehending certain words and phrases of the Quran.[10] This being so, the ordinary unlettered Arabs could not have been expected to easily grasp the message of the Quran. Besides an understanding of the Quran entailed not only mastery over Arabic language and literature but also detailed knowledge of Jewish, Christian and pre-Islamic

Arab socio-political and religio-cultural history. Such a situation called for special effots on the part of scholars amongst companions of the prophet(s) to explain and clarify the problems faced by general Muslims, while struggling to understand the Quran. This led to the emergence of the science of 'Tafsir' and subsequent development of Tafsir literature.[11]

During the life-time of the prophet(s), he was the one and only interpreter of the Quran. The companions would direct many enquiries to the prophet(s) in order to clarify certain phrases and portions of the Quran. For instance, in one of such encounters, prophet(s) is reported to have explained that the words "Those with whom Thou art wrathful" (1:7) as alluding to the Jews and "Nor of those who are astray" (1:7) as alluding to the Christians.[12] In falct, the clarification of the meaning of the Quranic verses was one of the main functions of the prophet's office (16:44). Some scholars like Ibn Taimayya held that the prophet(s) commented on the entire Quran.[13]

However, Hadrath Ashia is reported to have said that prophet(s) commented only on some verses of the Book of Allah and his commentary consisted of what Gabrial had taught him.[14] Bukhari, Muslim, Trimidhi and others have reported the traditions of the prophet(s) which have bearing on the Quranic verses. It goes without saying that prophet's(s) comments on various Quranic verses remain their most authoritative explanations.

After the demise of the prophet(s), his companions carried on the task of interpretation of the Quranic discourse. The four rightly-guided caliphs are reported to have commented on numerous verses of the Quran, although very few comments have been attributed to first three caliphs. However, it is reported that Hadrath Ali (R) wrote a Tafsir entitled Jam al Quran wa Tawilih.[15] The historians and scholars find it difficult to authenticate this claim. The shia scholars have attributed to him quite a number of works on the Quran. Among other companions of the Prophet(s), the distinguished interpreters of the Quran were Abd Allah b. Abbas (d. 687), Abd Allah b. Masud (d. 653), Ubbay b. Ka'b (640), Zayd b. Thabit (d. 665), Abu Musa al-Ashari (d. 664), and Abd Allah b. al Zubayr (d. 692), Abd Allah b. Abbas is deemed to be the most distinguished of the interpreters of the Quran and scholars of the Quranic sciences among all the companions of the prophet.[16]

The companions of the prophet(s) interpreted the Quran through Quran itself. While interpreting some verses of the Quran they took help from other relevent portions of the Quran. Secondly, they interpreted Quranic verses with the help of the traditions of the prophet(s). Thirdly, they resorted to their independent opinions in case they could not come by a relevent Quranic verse or tradition of the prophet(s). Fourthly, they took help from

Jewish and Christian traditions, while explaining the portions of the Quran referring to previous prophets and the Books. Fifthly, they relied upon pre-Islamic poetic works in case they could not understand certain words or phrases or idioms in the Quranic discourse.[17]

In course of time, new territories were conquerred by Muslims and the companions of the prophet settled in new colonies. These companions emerged as authorities on the Quran in their respective spheres of influence. They attracted competent and faithful disciples around themselves leading to the emergence of different schools of the Quranic interpretation.

The followers of the companions of the prophet(s) known as Tabi-yun faithfully but creatively improved upon the ongoing science of Tafsir. During this period three important schools of Tafsir emerged at Mecca, Medina and Kufa. The Meccan school revolved around Abd-Allah-b-Abbas, the Medina school was led by Ubayy-b-Ka'b and Kufa school was inspired by Abd Allah b. Masud.[18] Gradually different schools of Tafsir resulted into divergent theological trends of that time.[19]

During the second century of Hijrah, the Ahadith of the prophet(s) were collected by scholars in their respective documentations. Tafsir occupied a separate section in these collections. The separate collections of Tafsir of the entire Quran were yet to be worked out. The

Tafsir traditions were a part of the general traditions reported from the prophet(s).[20]

Tafsir was separated from Hadith when distinguished scholars made significant contributions towards establishing the science of Tafsir. There is no agreement as to who was the first full-fledged commentator of the Quran. However, Ibn Majah (d. 886), Ibn Jarrier al-Tabari (d. 922) and Abu Bakar al-Naisaburi (d. 930) et al., were the first commentators of the Quranic discourse. Al-Tabaris commentary on the Quran entitled Jami-al bayan fi Tafsir al-Quran is still considered to be the greatest source of knowledge for the interpretation of the Quran.

In his encyclopaedic Tafsir al Tabari has not only assembled different interpretations of the verses of the Quran, but has detailed the reasons for his preference of one over the other.[21] Besides, al-Tabari has discussed grammatical, lexicographical, morphological, semantic and legal aspects of the Quranic discourse. Therefore, al-Tabari's Tafsir can not be regarded merely as a collection of various narratives about the interpretation of the Quran. Rather he has carried out independent discussions and analyses of the narratives with considerable critical and methodological sophistication. In view of his vast erudition displayed in thousands of pages of his Tafsir, Al Tabari has rightly been regarded as the father of the science of Tafsir.[22]

Upto al-Tabari Tafsir-i-Mathur or the traditional interpretation formed the main body of Tafsir. Later on, with growth and expansion of Islamic civilization and with the formulation of new academic disciplines, the use of independent opinion in the interpretation of Quran increased.

The companions of the prophet(s) had laid down certain conditions for the use of independent opinion in the interpretation of the Quran. However, at this stage, many interpreters started violating these conditions. This alarmed the sunni orthodoxy. Therefore, it rejected those independent interpretations which could not confirm to the prescribed criteria. Consequently, independent interpretations acceptable to sunni orthodoxy came to be known as Tafsir-bi-ra'i al-Jaiz (interpretation with permissible independent reasoning), and that which was contrary to their doctrines was called Tafsir bi-rai al-madhmum (interpretation with unlawful independent reasoning). For example, Imam Fakhr al-din-al Razi's (d. 209) Mafatih al-ghaib (famous as Tafsir-i-Kabir) is considered Tafsir-bi-rai al-Jaiz (interpretation with permissible independent reasoning) and Abu'l Qasim al Zamakhsharis' (d. 1143) al Kashshaf an haqa'iq al-Tanzil is deemed to be Tafsir bil-rai al-Madhnum (interpretation with unlawful independent reasoning).[23]

Therefore, with the increasing expansion of geographical frontiers of Islam and consequent

multi-cultural character of Muslim Ummah together with the progressive codification of various sciences like philosophy, grammar, jurisprudence, Ilm al-kalam, history etc., numerous interpretations of the Quran from various angles and perspectives were worked out with rapid speed. For example, interpretations of the Quran from philological, grammatical, jurisprudential, theological, philosophical and historical perspectives came to the fore. Moreover, the interpretations were accomplished in keeping with the sectarian predilections and prejudices. Thus we have interpretations written not only from Sunni and Shia angles but also from Sufi, Batiniah, Mutazilliah, Ashariah, Khawarijiah, Abadiyah Zaidiyah Ismailiyah and Imamiyah angles as well. Even, interpretations from Hanafiyah Malikiyah Shafiyah Hambaliyah and Jaffariyah points of view were brought out mainly concentrating on juristic inductions and deductions.

The people of the valley of Kashmir were converted to Islam during 14th and early 15th centuries A.D. Suharwardi and Kubravi saints played a pioneering role in the Islamisation of the valley. Prominent among them were Syed Sharf-ud-Din Abdul Rahman (Bulbul Shah), and Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. The sufi-saints emphasised the moral teachings of the Quran as well as the norms and methods of their respective orders. In view of the same, Kashmiris approached Islamic world-view through sufi interpretation

and methodology. Thus, Kashmiri Muslims have been basically oriented to Islam through sufi way of life.

The process of the Islamization of the valley was carried on slowly and steadily. To begin with, the emphasis naturally could not have been on the inroduction, dissemination and development of Islamic sciences. The early preachers and teachers of Islam in the valley concentrated their attention on the imparting of the fundamentals of Islam to the newly converted Muslims of Kashmir. Hundreds of sufis from Central Asia, who migrated to Kashmir during 14th and 15th centuries mainly engaged themselves in introducing the people of Kashmir to the basic articles of faith. In course of time, when Muslim rule was established in Kashmir, many centres of Islamic learning were established across the valley. In these centres too, the emphasis was on introducing people to Arabic language and recitation of the Quran. Furthermore, the injunctions of the Quran were also taught in view of their day-to-day practical relevence.

However, in course of time, people started taking interest in Islamic sciences. The study of exegeses worked out by such leading exegists of Arabia and Persia as Al-Tabari, Al-Razi and Al-Zamakshari were undertaken by Kashmiri scholars as well. This led to an understanding of Quranic discourse as well as other relevant methodological problems and issues pertaining to the science of Tafsir.

Subsequently, several complete or partial translations and exegesis of the Quran were accomplished in the valley of Kashmir. Some books and pamphlets were also written on various aspects of the Quran. We shall be summarising the development of ilm al-Tafsir in the valley of Kashmir as follows :

II. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani :

The development of Tafsir literature in Kashmir can be traced back to the times when Kashmir had just begun its transition to Islam and the first person who may be considered to be the originator of Tafsir literature in Kashmir is none other than Mir Syed Ali Hamadani (1314-1385) who is considered to be mainly responsible for the conversion of the people of Kashmir to Islam. His contribution to the Tafsir literature is Al-Risal Fi Nasikh wa-Mansikh, copies of which are preserved in India office library, London, and Central Library of Tehran University.[24]

Syed Ali Hamadani in this work deals with the question of Nasikh-wa-Mansukh. This has been one of the most controversial questions and widely discussed by influential exegists all over the world. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, following earlier exegists maintains that some verses of the Quran have been repealed by some subsequent verses. Dr. M. Farooq Bukhari who claims to have read some extracts of the treatise quotes the following two examples

from it. According to Muhammad Farooq Bukhari, Mir Syed Ali Hamadani deems يسئلونك عن الشهر الحرام قتال فيه

to have been repealed by اقتلوالمشركين حيث وجدتموهم

and لا اكراه فى الدين

to have been repealed by جاهد الكفار والمنافقين

Besides the Risala Nasikh-wa-Mansukh Mir Syed Ali Hamadani's exegesis of the Quranic verses can be traced in a number of letters addressed to different quarters which usually begin with Quranic verses followed by a Persian translation and in their particular contexts carry the directives to the addresses about their responsibilities. For example, he starts one of his letters to a king by quoting the following verse of the Quran :

الذين ان مكناهم فى الارض و آقاموا الصلوة و اتوا الزكوة وأمروا بالمعروف ونهوْا عن المنكر ولله عاقبة الامور.

Thereafter, he exhorts the king to strictly abide by his duties in the light of the above verse. Syed Ali Hamadani's paraphrase of the above verse runs as follows:

The knowledgeable and incorruptible souls appreciate that human beings differ according to their different characteristics. The variation in natures has inspired differences in words and deeds among different communities of the world. As bad manners and vicious characterisics such as cruelity, extortion, mischief-mongering and discord are inherent in human nature, so

the aims and objectives of human beings also tend to be different. Therefore, the infinite wisdom of Allah entails that rulers be blessed with higher qualities of head and heart, with a view to subsequently guide the behaviour of humankind towards righteousness, strive to implement the injunctions of Shariah to the extent possible, liberate the oppressed and week from the clutches of tyranny, control the actions of the extortionists, set right the systems of the external world and eliminate violence between masses and classes. The advent of the prophets and erudition of the scholars are also to set lines of demarcation between truth and flasehood and reform and mischief. Such a course of action will surely lead the rulers towards slavation of the day of judgement.[26]

Furthermore, a number of Syed Ali's works begin in a similar manner with verses from the Quran followed by their explanations. For example, all the chapters of Zakhirat al-Maluk open with a Quranic verse wherefrom Syed Ali Hamadani derives his various opinions.[27]

Shah Hamadan also established a network of scholars of Quranic Sciences in Kashmir who were instrumental in disseminating the Quranic message of guidance. Later on, various researchers took up several issues pertaining to the Quranic scholarship.

III. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi :

Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (1521-1595) was a distinguished Muffasir of 16th century Kashmir. He was a great scholar of Persian, Arabic and Islamic Sciences. He wrote a Tafsir entitled 'Matlab-ul-Talibin-fi-Tafsir-i-Kalam-i-Rab-ul-Al-min'. Sarfi, at the very outset, justifies the raison de'tre of the Tafsir by pointing out that some of his friends and disciples who wanted to grasp the hidden meanings and secrets of the Quran requested him to write a Tafsir. Therefore, he entitled it as 'Matlab-ul-Talibin-fi-Tafsir-ul-Kalam-i-Rab-ul-Almin.

Sarfis' Tafsir refers to Siha-e-Sata, Baihaqi's Kitab-ul-Sunan, Navavis commentary on Muslim, Tabranis Mua'jam-i-Kabir, Razis Al-Tafsir-ul-Kabir, Zamakhshari's Al-Kashaf Ibn-i-Muneer's Hasheyah Al-Kashaf, Baizavi's Anwar-ul-Tanzeel-wa-Asrar-ul-Taveel, Shafi's Al-um, Taftazani's Al-Tawazih-wal-Talwih etc.[28]

Sarfi starts his Tafsir by invoking the glory of Allah and name of the prophet(s). He further refers briefly to his ancestors and this is followed by a detailed discussion on ' تعوّذ'. The first lines of the Tafsir are as hereunder :

استعيذ من الشيطان الرجيم ، بلطفه العميم . اعلم انه صلى الله عليه وسلم امر بالاستعاذ عند قرأة القران كما ورد فى التنزيل الحكيم "فاذا قرأت القران فاستعذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم .

Safri takes up the question as to why تعـــوذ or اعوذ بالله مـن الشيطان الرجيم does not occur in the text of the Quran, although it is recited before Surah Fatiha while offering various prayers. While discussing this question, Sarfi takes aid from various traditions of the prophet(s) besides giving various views of Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Abu Yousuf, Imam Shafi, Imam Sawari, Imam Awazai etc.[29] He further quotes a tradition narrated by Ibn-i-Masud confirmatory of the recitation of تعـــوذ by prophet of Islam(s).[30]

After explaining the significance of تعـــوذ in mandatory and superrogatory prayers, sarfi undertakes a detailed exegesis of Surah-e-Fateh. The exegesis of Surah-e-Fateh has been worked out in about one hundred pages. He especially works out an intensive analysis of 'Bismillah Hirahman Nirahim' and 'Malik-i-yaw-mi-Din'. He has also taken up a discussion regarding the exact pronunciation of Malik in the verse Malik-i-yaw-mi-Din, and in this regard presented the opinions of scholars of earlier and later centuries. Sarfi provides the opinions of four pious caliphs in this regard as well and concludes that Malik was the pronounciation approved of by Marwan only and Mālik is the standard form of pronunciation.[31] Furthermore, a discussion on why Satan is named as Satan is also conducted while working out the exegesis of Surah-e-Fateha, tracing the etymological genesis of the

word 'Satan'. At the very outset, Sarafi takes up a discussion regarding the etymology, syntactics and morphology of words. Etymological analysis of various key-words of the Quran seems to have attracted the attention of Sarafi. For example, he carries out a masterly analysis of such words as Allah and Abad by tracing the etymological genesis of these words as well as their derivatives. In the process, he has brought out the philosophical implications of such key-words as well.[32] While undertaking the exegesis of Surah-e-Fateh, Sarfi also discusses Isma-ul-Hasna (Beautiful names of God) such a 'Al-Rehman' and 'Al-Rahim'. The word 'Al-Hamad' is also analysed from etymological and conceptual points of view. While discussing Surah-e-Fateh and specifically, the verse

انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالّين .

Safri brings out an exceptionally rare and spiritually significant insight. Sarfi points out that in this verse the favour bestowed upon the righteous people is directly ascribed to God while the wrath showen to unrighteous ones is breft of any ascription.[33] Sarfi provides the following illuminating analysis of this apparently grammatically innocent feature of the Quranic text :

> "If you ask that just as God has clearly ascribed favour to Himself and has not similarly ascribed wrath to Himself, my answer will be that any matter whether referring the kindness or love or referring to wrath or anger becomes highly elevated when ascribled to Allah. For this very reason, the gnostics or sufis have felt envious toward Satan viz., the verse
>
> ان عليك لعنتي الى يوم الدين

> meaning 'O Iblis, you will incur my curse till doomsday'. In view of the fact that in this verse the people incurring the wrath of Allah do not deserve even an iota of elevation, God has not deemed it fit even to ascribe the wrath showen to them to Himself".[34]

After completing the exegesis of Surah-e-Fateh Sarfi has undertaken an analysis of 'Amin' as well, which though not a part of the text of Surah-e-Fateh, is silently or loudly suffixed to this surah while offering various prayers. Sarfi has quoted various traditions of the prophet and opinios and interpretations of doctors of Islam regarding 'Amin' with a view to illuminate various aspects regarding the same.[35]

Nextly, Sarfi undertakes the exegesis of Surah-e-Baqar. In the exegesis of the various verses, of this surah, Sarfi has conducted an illuminating analysis of its etymological, syntactical, morphological and semantic features. However, 'Matlab-ul-Talibin in its present manuscript form as available in Jammu to Kashmir State Research Library, Srrinagar, provides the exegesis of this surah only upto the 62nd verse of the Surah-e-Baqar.

IV. **Shaikh Murad Kashmiri** :

Shaikh Murad Kashmiri Naquashbandi was a contemporary of famous historian Khwaja Mohammad Azam Dedmari. Khwaja Dedmari was deeply devoted to Shaikh Murad and often used to travel with him. Khwaja Dedmari describes Shaikh Murad as a worthy scholar and savant who

commanded great respect. Shaikh Murad received his education from Shaikh Muhammad Massum Farooqi, the son of Shaikh Ahmad Farooqi. Besides performing Hajj, he visited the most important centres of Islamic learning like Baghdad, Isfhan, Balakh, Samarqand, Cairo, Damascus, Constantanpole etc. where he died in 1760 AD. He was the master of three languages; Arabic, Persian and Turkish and was the first in India who worked on the dictionary of Quranic words, 'Jami al-Mufaradat'.[36] It bears ample testimony to his command of the languages and his mastery of the subject. A copy of 'Jami al-Mufaradat' written in Persian in 1169 AH comprised of 1130 pages is preserved in Al-Azhar University library. The work incorporates the meanings of the words of each chapter of the Quran in aforementioned three languages in alphabetical order, the chapters having the same sequence as in the Holy Quran itself.[37]

Maulana Abdul Haleem Chishti writes that work on the meaning of the Quranic words in India started in 12th century AH and Shaikh Muhammad Murad Kashmir wrote a comprehensive book entitled Jami al-Mufaradat wherein he wrote the meanings of the words of the Quran in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. According to Chishti it is a unique book of its kind and is a comprehensive dictionary of the Quranic discourse.[38]

V. Shaikh Moin--al-Din Naqashbandi :

Born in Kashmir Shaikh Moin-al-Din Naqashbandi Kashmiri was the son of great Naqashbandi Saint Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqashbandi. He received his early education from his father and thereafter proceeded to Delhi to learn Hadith and Fiqh from Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi. He died in Kashmir in 1674 AD.[39]

He wrote a number of books including Zubdat al-Tafsir which is preserved in various libraries in its original form. Zubdat-al-Tafasir begins with the words :

الحمد الله الذى نزل كتابه الذى هو ناسخ الأديان ـ الخ"[40]

In the foreward Shaikh Moin-al-Din praises the rule of Awarangzeb Alamgir as the preserver of religion and Ummah, the reviver of Hanafi faith and the follower of Shariah, and dedicates the Tafsir to him. The Tafsir is preserved in good condition. Every page bears marginal notes. The Tafsir does not carry the names and sayings of other exegists but instead works out a simple and brief interpretation of the Quranic verses. The Tafsir avoids useless and lengthy discussions.[41]

Three manuscripts of the Zubadat al-Tafasir are available in Khuda Bakhash Library, Patna, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Sayyidiya Library Tonk. While the Khuda Baksh library copy ends with these words :

الحمد الله المعين المحمود الذى وفقنى لاتمام تحرير

زبـــدة الـتـفـاســيـــر مـن جـــهـد الـمـعـيـن فـى يـوم عـشـرين من رجب المرجب سنة ألف و احدى وسبعين ، ارجوا مَن هذا التفسير الشريف ان لا ينسنى فى دعائهم المستجباب

The Sayyidiya library, Tonk ends with the following words:

الحمد الله حمدا كثيرا . قد وقع الفراغ من تاليف هذا التفسير ...

... وفى كشف وجوه عرائس الفرائد مع الا قتصاد عن طرفى الاكثار والا قلال [٤٢]

The Zubdat al-Tafasir is a significant intellectual achievement of its times. Maulana Abul Karim of Tonk comments upon the Tafsir in the following words: "This Tafsir is unique in terms of brevity of words, simplicity of diction and elucidation of meanings".[43]

Besides Zubdat al-Tafsir Shaikh Moin-al-Din has also written a Persian exegesis entitled Sharh al-Quran. The Tafsir was written from 7th Rajab 1071 A.H. upto Moharram 1072 A.H., as is clearly mentioned in its introduction. A copy of the same is preserved in Tonk library comprising of 1284 pages. It begins with the words

اوله . حمدنا محود وثنائے نامعدود معبودے راسزا است كه حمد جميع حامدان وثنائے جميع ثنا خوان راجع بذات پاك اوست ـ الخ

and ends with :

قد وقع الفراغ من تصنيف شرح القران بعد ستة أشهر يزيد عليها عشرون عند وسط يوم الخميس من اخر شهر اول من سنة ثانية السبعين بعد ألف حول حول هجرة النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم) النبى سيد الأبياء افضل المرسلين صلوات الله والسلام عليه وعلى اله واصحابه اجمعين [٤٤]

In view of this fact it is difficult to accept the widely held view that Shah Walliullah Dehalvi was the first Persian exegist of the holy Quran.

VI. **Maulana Abdul Rashid Shopiani** :

Maulana Abdul Rashid was born at Shopian, Kashmir. After receiving his early education in Kashmir he proceeded to Bhopal and became a close associate of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal. However, after some time, owing to personal reasons, Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan ordered his deportation from Bhopal. Subsequently, he went to Hawshangabad where he lived the rest of his life. He died at Jabalpur in 1880 AD.[45]

Maulana Abdul Rashid had thorough command over Arabic poetry and prose and Islamic Sciences. His chief contribution Ayat'al-Aijaz was written at Bhopal at the instance of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan in 1878 AD.[46] The manuscript is preserved at Nadawat-ul-ulama library, Lucknow. Ayat al-Aijaz consists of a foreward and three sections. He begins the work with the words :

الحمد الله الذى انزل الفرقان على عبده ليكون للعالمين نذيرا [٤٧]

According to Dr. S.M. Farooq Bukhari, the compilation of Ayat al-Aijaz was not undertaken at the instance of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal. It originated out of a disputation regarding Aijaz of the

Quran in between Maulana and his friends. His friends rejected Maulana's point of view regarding Aijaz of the Quran, whereupon Maulana authored the pamphelet Ayat al-Aijaz with a view to clarify his views on Aijaz of the Quran.[48]

In the first section he works out a literal and technical analysis of the word, Aijaz and thereby illuminates the unique literary excellence of the Quran - an excellence that is beyond the ken of human endeavour. He has substantiated this thesis viz., the unparalleled literary excellence of the Quran in the light of the opinions of such distinguished scholars of semantics as Abul Baqa, Quazi Abu Bakar Baqlani, Sakaki, Zamalkani, Marakashi, Zarkashi etc.[49]

In the second section, Maulana Shopiani has shown as to which verses of the Quran have been revealed in consonance with the opinions of the companions of the prophet. For example, as narrated by Umar in Sahih Muslim, prophet said that God revealed verses in consonance with the opinion of Umar regarding three matters - veil, prisoners of Badar and Muqam-i-Ibrahimi. Similarly, Maulana Shopiani has shown those verses of the Quran which have been revealed according to the opinions held by Abu Bakar Siddiq, Musab bin Umair and other companions of the prophet.[50]

In the third section, Maulana Shopiani has refuted that arguments advanced by certain scholars that Aijaz of the Quran should not and need not be sought in short suras and only large suras should be deemed to be unique and impossible of formulation by human endeavour. Shopiani has tried to show that every single verse of the Quran is a challenge to all mankind and no person, howsoever, educated or elevated can reproduce a single verse of the Quran.[51]

VII Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri :

Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri's (1875-1933) main contribution has been in the fields on Ilm al-Hadith, Ilm al-Rijal and Fiqh and the same will be outlined in subsequent chapters viz., 'The Development of Ilm al-Hadith' and 'The Development of Ilm al-Fiqh' in Kashmir. However, Allama Kashmiri has had an abiding interest in the Quanic sciences as well. He has been deeply involved in the study of various 'Tafasir' viz. Tafsir Imam Razi, Tafsir Kashaf of Allama Zamakhshari and Al-Itiquan of Saiyuti.

However, Allama Kashmiri has not written any complete Tafsir of the Quran. Nevertheless, he has written a significant treatise namely, Mushkilat al-Quran, wherein he has tried to bring out the real import of one hundred and ninety Quranic verses. The treatise comprises of two hundred and sixty-nine pages. The verses have been taken from forty-eight Surahs' of the Quran. In addition, his

other works Faizul Bari and Anwar al-Mehmud carry detailed discussions on various Quranic verses viz., Bab al-Tafsir and Bab fil-Quran respectively. His another treatise entitled Khatim-i-Nabiyin (Persian) comprising of ninety six pages is an exegesis of the Quranic verse viz.
ماكان محمد ابا احد من الرجالكم ولكن الرسول الله وخاتم النبن وكان الله بكل شعى عليما

Similarly, another treatise, Aqidat al-Islam is an exegesis of some of the verses of the Quran regarding yajuj Majuj (Gog Magog) and the reappearance of christ.

Allama Kashmiri was, in principle, convinced of the need for continuous reinterpretation of the Quran. Scholars of earlier centuries have, needless to say, delved deep into the meanings and semantic implications of the Quran. They have analysed and interpreted the Quran from linguistic, logical, semantic, syntactical, morphological and dictional angles and it is our good fortune that they have given their life and blood to facilitate our understanding of the Quran. However, it does not mean that contemporary scholars of the Quran should not or need not make further efforts to bring out meanings in the light of the perspectives of our age or requirements of our times. The final message of God must, by definition, respond to the needs and requirements of all times and climes. For Allama Kashmiri, every word of the Quran is a microcosm of wonderments as well as facts. Thus, there can be no final word in the field of the

Quranic exegetical literature. Understanding of the Quran is a continuous or a never-ending process. Therefore, its exegesis and interpretation will continue for all times to come. Tafsir-bil-Rai does not mean that men should stop discovering deeper and profounder meanings of the Quran.[52] Allama writes :

> "Who has stopped ulema from elucidating the meaning of the Quran? Only they should appreciate the context of the Quran in its entire profoundity and also keep in mind the linguistic varieties of the Quran while making due allowance for the basic belief-strucure of the ancient doctors of Islam".[53]

Allama Kashmiri thinks that understanding of the Quran is definitely the hardest of the human assignments. Many of the greatest of exegists have floundered on the hardrocks of the Quranic profundities. The Quranic verse, viz.,

ولقد يسرنا القران للذكر فهل من مدكر .

should not mislead us to think that grasping the profundities of the Quran is anybodys' cup of tea. Tayaseer does not mean that the Quran can be conveniently grasped by anybody or everybody. It only means that Quran is a multi-layered book of guidance and enlightenmet and one can understand it and seek guidance from it according to one's mental level and intellectual sophistication. Here everyone can receive according to his capacity. Even unlettered people can find solace by listening to the recitations of the Quran. On the other hand, even profoundest and deepest of human minds can spend a

life-time in trying to appreciate the spiritual depths and moral beauties of the Quran and yet feel gasping for their breath. This is the Aijaz of the Quran.[54] "The Quran is at the pinnacle of eloquence. The grace of its insights is equally available to the rank and file. This verily is the meaning of Tayaseer".[55]

Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri was attuned to the increasing achievements of modern science. He had a healthy regard for scientific research. However, in case of an apparent or real conflict between science and the Quran, he regarded the Quranic verities or principles to be unalterable, for he deemd science to be a dynamic esearch programme amenable to amendment or even revocation at any point of time. At times, he advocates a creative reconciliation between the Quran and science. For example, regarding the existence or non-existence of the heavens[56] (السموات) he has the following to suggest :

> "Modern minds have denied the very existence of the heavens. They maintain that nothing but space hovers over our heads. The planets automatically rotate in this space. However, I think that this is not a valid argument for the non-existence of heavens. It just may be that this very space is comprised of various stellar strata and then every stratum can be named as heaven. There just may turn out seven strata (سبع سموات) as informed by Quran".[57]

Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri does not agree with those who think that all natural and social sciences originate from the Quranic discourse. For him the mission

of the Quran is to illuminate us about our origin and destiny, about our daily life and living and about our worldly welfare and eschatological salvation. He makes a clear-cut distinction between Takweeni ulum (creationistic or cosmological sciences) and Tashriee ulum (juristic or jurisprudential sciences). No man has been granted an access to creationistic or cosmological sciences. Even prophets are unaware of the secrets of creation or principles of evolution. The job of the prophets was to establish sharia. Therefore, they were given the knowledge of juristic sciences only. Allama Kashmiri writes :

> "If sharia had raised its discourse on he basis of natural sciences, then philosophers and scientists would have always doubted the Quran. For example, take the case of revolution of the celestial bodies. Scientists and philosophers have contradictory opinions regarding the same. If the Quran had declared earth to be revolving, then the philosophers not convinced of the revolution of the earth would have had repudiated the Quran. On the contrary contemporary scholars would have testified to it truth. Similarly, if the Quran had declared heavens to be revolving then earlier philosophers would have welcomed it whereas contemporary researchers would have falsified it—this in view of their researches being contrary to the researches of the ancients. In view of the same, the Quran has not entered into cosmological controversies, for these would have interfered with the faith of the people".58

Professor Muhammad Farooq Bukhari, an eminent and leading scholar of Islamic sciences in Kashmir brings out Allama Kashmiri's views on the relation between the Quran and Science in the following words :

> "He (Allama Kashmiri) forcefully rejects those people who try to explore Newton's law of Gravitation, Darwin's Theory of Evolution and Einsein's Theory of Relativity in the book of Allah. For him, such a stance does not constitute any service to the Quan — rather it is a transgression of the limits of propriety with the Quran. He knew that scientific discoveries have no permanence or stability but go on changing from time to time. What is emphasised today is rejected tomorrow. In this regard, his views accord, to a great extent, with the opinion of the distinguished scholars of contemporary era".[59]

Thus, Allama Kashmiri provides a wider and fresher exegetical perspective. He is aware of the needs and requirements of the modern age. Therefore, he approaches the Quran with an open mind. However, he thinks a mature and balanced exegesis of the Quran should be worked out in the light of the prophetic traditions. Exegists like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Allama Inayatullah Mashriqui and Maulana Muhammad Ali Lahori who were not guided by the traditions of the prophet committed gross distortions while analysing the Quranic text. For example, Sir Syed rejected continuously held age-long beliefs of the community (Tawaturat) viz; the existence of angels, resurrection of the Christ, the reality of heaven and hell etc.[60] A mature and balanced exegist must be open-minded and receptive to contemporary situation. However, his modernistic zeal must not lead him to commit dictional or semantic distortions with the text of the Quran. In order to avoid Tafsir-bil-Rai and work out an exegesis of the Quran with

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least distortions, we must try to grasp the Quran in the light of traditions of the prophet :

> "If a man ponders over traditions of the prophet with a balanced vision, then he will appreciate that most of them are an analysis of the synoptic style of the Quran and detailed descriptions of the Quranic suggestions".61

VIII. **Maulana Muhammad Yousf Shah Kashmiri** :

Maulana Muhammad Yousf Shah Kashmiri was born in 1895 A.D. at Srinagar Kashmir. After his early education at Srinagar, he proceeded to Deoband in 1917 A.D., for higher theological education. His teachers at Deoband, among others, were Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Azaz Ali and Allama Muhammad Ibrahim Baliyavi. After graduating from Deoband, Maulana returned to Kashmir in 1925 A.D.[62] He was the foremost of political leaders who launched a struggle against Dogra rule in 1931 A.D. Subsequently, in 1932 he founded 'Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference'. He continued to lead public agitation againstt the Dogra rule through the platform of 'Muslim Conference' upto 1947 during which year he became Minister for education in Pak-annexed Kashmir. In 1951 he became the President of the same territory. He passed away in 1968 and was burried at Muzaffarabad (pak-annexed Kashmir).[63]

During his busy schedule as head of the State and Government, he managed to write a Kashmiri translation and

Tafsir of the Quran. It was subsequently published in two volumes at Srinagar by Ali Muhammad and Sons, Srinagar Kashmir. The first page of the first volume of the Tafsir starts with الرحمٰن علم القران خلق الانسان علمه البيان .

بيان الفرقان

المعروف تعليم القران

ترجمة وتفسير كلام الله بزبان كشميرى

از

حضرت نورالاسلام مولانا محمد يوسف صاحب مير واعظ كشمير

بحسن كوشش شعبه اشاعت انجمن نصرة الاسلام

ناشر - على محمد ايند سنز سرينگر كشمير

The pages six and seven incorporate a prefactory inroduction. It starts with the following Quranic verses:

حٰمٓ تنزيل من الرحمن الرحيم كتاب فصلت اياته قرانا عربيا لقوم يعلمون - وقال تعالى بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم حٰمٓ والكتاب المبين انا جعلناه قرانا عربيا لعلكم تعقلون [٦٤]

Maulana Muhammad Yousf Shah Kashmiri, in the light of the above verses, points out that God has revealed his commandments to various prophets in various languages at various stages of history. Herein, it is underlined that the latest message from God Almighty has been vouchsafed to mankind through the prophet of Islam(s) in Arabic language. Maulana, further quoted from Sura Ra'ad وكذالك انزلناه حكما عربيا and sura Nakhal وهذا لسان عربى مبين to point out that the Divine message is couched in Arabic

language. Maulana quotes a tradition of the Prophet :

احبو العرب لثلث لانی عربی والقران عربی ولسان اهل الجنة عربی

in this regard, to bring out the unique status of Arabic language. (However, to bring out the unique status of Arabic language) However, Maulana also points out that in view of the wide-spread differences in languages and dialects acoss the continents, countries and regions, as tesified in a celebratory tone in the Quran itself viz.,

ومن اياته خلق السموات والارض واختلاف السنتكم والوانكم ان فى ذلك لايت للعلمين

the need for translations and exegeses of the Quran was felt all along and,in course of time, the Quran was translated and paraphrased in scores of languages and dialects. I is almost impossible for all Muslims to understand and grasp the nuances of Arabic language and literature. All non-Muslims interested in grasping the Quranic message also cannot be expected to know Arabic language.[65] Therefore, translations and exegeses into non-Arabic languages became unavoidable and inevitable. Maulana, further points out that the first translation of certain portions of the Quran, with the permission of the prophet of Islam, was carried out in the Persian language by Hadrat Salaman Farsi and subsequently sent to Persia for the benefit of the people over there. This may justifiably be quoted in support of the ranslations and exegeses of the Quran into non-Arabic languages. However, Maulana emphaticaly points out that mandatory five daily

prayers cannot be butconducted in Arabic language as there is no tradition of the prophet or Athar of any one of his rightly-guided caliphs allowing to conduct them in any non-Arabic language.[66]

The foreward is followed by a brief life-sketch of the prophet of Islam. Thereafer, a page is devoted to an analysis of the punctuatory marks contained in between the verses of the Quran.[67]

Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Shah Kashmiri's commentary enitled, Baiyan al-Furqan is a translation-cum-exegesis of the Quran. Some verses have just been translated and some have been briefly commented upon. The method of interpretation is mostly descriptive and at times the treatment is historical. We shall give an English translation of Maulana's Kashmiri translation and exegesis of (a) sura-e-Fateha and (b) sura-e-ikhlas with a view to provide a clue as to the over-all method of treatment adopted by Maulana : (a) الحمد الله رب العلمين All praises, eulogies and encomiums are due to the most sacred lord whose name is Allah, as he is the creator and distributor of all good things. Therefore, only He is entitled to praises and eulogies. He is the Master and Nouisher of all realms. Every species of creatures is counted as one realm. For example, angels, Men, Genii, Minerals, trees, animals, birds etc., constitute different realms. الرحمن الرحيم Who is most merciful on all in this world, who shall continue

showering His Mercy on believers in the hereafter. مالك يوم الدين who is the Master of and sovereign on the Day of Recompense. The Day of Recompense means the Day of Judgement. The day men will be answerable to their deeds. As they have sown so shall they reap on that Day. اياك نعبد واياك نستعين we surrender and worship to thee only and none else. And we seek succour and help from thee only. This is a supplication on the part of servants to His Highness. This very mode of supplication has been taught by God Almighty to His servants. This prayer teaches human beings as to how they should approach His Majesty and how they should beseech Him. اهدنا الصراط المستقيم And show us straight path (of Islam) صراط الذين انعمت عليهم Path of those people whom you have blessed i.e. blesseld with prophethood, authenticity, love, martyrdom and spiritual capability غير المغضوب عليهم و لا الضالين Not their way who have been subjected to your wrath, whom You are disgusted with because of their disobedience. And also not their way who are misdirected, i.e. Jews, Christians, and all other spurious sects who are caught into the welter of confusion.[68]

(b) Once the polytheists of Arabia asked the Prophet of Islam about the lineage of Allah. They also enquired about His Attributes. Thereupon this surah was revealed to the Prophet : قل هو الله احد Tell O prophet that God is unique in His Essence and Attributes. He has no partner either in His Essence or in His Attributes. His Necessary

Being is indicative of the perfection of His Essence. With regard to His Attributes, He is All-knowing as well as All-Powerful, Eternal as well as All-Pervading etc. الله الصمد Allah is too innocent of need to depend on anyone. All others depend on Him with regard to everything. لم يلد ولم يولد He neither begets nor is He begotten. ولم يكن له كفوا احدا And there is none like unto Him. Ubelievers are of various kinds; some deny the very existence of Allah, some deny His being the Necessary Being, some deny His perfect Attributes, some associate partners with Him. All these were repudiated by Allah in terms of Allah-u-Ahad. Some seek help from others besides Allah. They are being repudiated in terms of Allah-u-Samad. The implication is that we should seek help from one who is not dependent on anyone. However, such a one is none besides Allah. All others besides Allah are dependent on Him. All are meek and humble in His Presence.[69] God Himself declares : يا ايها الناس انتم الفقراء الى الله ، والله هو الغنى الحميد O, people, all of you are indigent in the Presence of Allah, at every time and in every state. Only Allah is innocent of need and beyond all wants.[70]

The prophet of Islam would pray to Allah in these terms,

اللهم انى ضعيف فقونى وانى مريض فاشفنى وانى ذليل فاعزنى وانى فقير فارزقنى

'O Allah, I am week and powerless, grant me strength and power, I am ailing, grant me recovery, I am contemptible, grant me honour, and I am poor and indigent, grant me sustenance'.[71]

Another party ascribe to Him sons and daughters. They are being repudiated in terms of 'Lam yulid' Those who deify humans and genii, are being repudiated in terms of 'walam yulad' as all humans and genii are begotton and born, whereas Almighty Allah is begotten of none. There are some who ascribe equals to Him. For example, Zonrastrians believe in two Gods, one yazdan and other Ahraman. Yazdan is the source of Good and Ahraman the source of Evil. Both are like each other and equally placed. Such a view was repudiated by Allah in terms of walam yakun lahu kufwan Ahad thereby indicating that none is like unto Him and He is like unto none. Neither he begot anyone nor is He begotten of anyone. He is beyond all comparisons and contrasts.[72]

IX. Maulana Sa'aduddin :

Maulana Sa'aduddin, formerly 'Amir-Jammat-i-Islami, Jammu and Kashmir' has worked out a translation and exegesis of the thirtieth parah (parah Amm) of the Quran. It has been published by Rahbar Book Depot, Barbar Shah, Srinagar.

In his introductory remarks, Maulana Saaduddin, points out that the Quran as the divine discourse is meant for the guidance and edification of all human beings. It offers the most wholesome code of conduct to man. Its mission is to enlighten all the dark corners of human existence as well as civilization.[73]

It is the bounden duty of Muslim Ummah to disseminate the Quranic message in all areas of the globe. They must try to implement the Quranic injunctions through out the world, otherwise real peace and unity will always elude mankind. Muslims have been divinely ordinained as the best of communities and it is for them to struggle for the implementation of dos and donots proclaimed by the Quran.

Maulana Sa'aduddin concludes his introductory remarks by exhorting to Muslim Ummah to accelerate the pace of educating young men and women in accordance with the Quranic teachings.[74]

We shall give the exegesis providled by Maulana Sa'aduddin of Sura-e-Baina as well as Sura-e-Asar with a view to bring out his method and mode of interpretation. These suras are respectively given in translation as follows :

1. Those who reject (Truth), Among the people of the Book, And among the polytheists, were not going to depart (from their ways) until there should come to them clear evidence.

2. An apostle from God, Rehearing scriptures kept pure and holy :

3. Wherein are laws (or decrees) right and straight.

4. Nor did the people of the Book, make schisms, until after there came to them clear evidence.

5. And they have been commanded no more than this :

   To worship God, offering Him sincere devotion. Being true (in faith), To establish regular prayer; And to practise regular charity, and that is the Religion, Right and Straight.

6. Those who reject (Truth), Among the people of the book, And among the polytheists will be in hell fire, To deveil therein (for aye) They are worst of creatures.

7. Those who have faith and do righteous deeds. They are the best of creatures.

8. Their reward is with God, Gardens of Eternity, Beneath which rivers flow, They will dwell therein for ever God well pleased with them and they with Him. All this for such as fear their lord and cherister.

This is a Madani Sura. Maulana Sa'aduddin points out that herein Allah categorically asserts that deep darkness actuated in the world due to infidelity needed to be illuminated by the resplendence of divine guidance. Therefore, Allah sent prophet of Islam(s). Now, the entire mankind ought to have accepted this message. However, large sections of people disagreed with the message and the dispensation of Muhammad on account of prejudice, egistic motivations and political considerations. The Prophet of Islam brought the same message as was vouchsafed to all earlier dispensations. However, as Allah's message has been categorically brought out, anyone

induling in infidelity in the post-Quranic era, stands unequivocally condemned to the fire of hell. On the other hand, those who believe and carry out righteous deeds will be rewarded with perennial paradisal bliss. However, the greatest reward that they would receive will be the good pleasure of Allah with whom they themselves would be deeply pleased.[75]

II.

1. By Time
2. Verity Man is in loss
3. Except such as have Faith And do righteous deeds
   And exhort each other To remain Truthful And practise Patience.

While working out the exegesis of this Meccan sura, Maulana Saaduddin explains that Allah swears by Time as time is the most precious asset available to man by exploiting which man can accomplish wonderful achievements. However, time is the witness to the fact that men are in loss unless hey undertake four measures or steps as outlined hereunder :

1. That, they believe in the existence of God, and authenticity of the prophethood and abide by the guidance provided by God through the prophet, and believe in all the promises made by God and the Prophet either about this world or the hereafter.

2. That, their faith did not remain confined to their heads and hearts only, but percolated to their bodily organs as well, and their practical life was set right in the light of their faith, i.e. they practised righteousness.

3. That, they were not satisfied with their personal reform only but exhorted others to follow truth and righteousness, keeping in view the larger interests of the community and society.

4. That, they exhorted one another through their word and deed to happily bear all the difficulties in their struggle for righteousness and never give up their commitment to truth.[76]

The fortunate ones who will adopt all these four measures and set right their personal lives and through preachment of truth and good personal example rectify other people's lives, will insure themselves against loss and earn wordly and other-worldly laurels.[77]

According to Maulana Sa'aduddin, this brief sura is the gist of Islam. He quotes Imam Shafi, who opined that if only this sura would have been revealed out of the entire Quran, still it would have sufficed as the source of guidance for man.[78]

X. **Gulzar Ahmad Parrey** :

In June 1993 a translation of first five parahs of the Quran into Kashmiri language by Gulzar Ahmad Parrey was published from Kapran, Shopian Kashmir. The translation is entitled Asrar al-Quran. It is claimed by Gulzar Ahmad Parrey that the translation of the entire Quran wil be published in due course of time.[79]

In his introduction to his first volume of Asrar al-Quran, Gulzar Ahmad Parrey points out the near impossibility of translating the divine discourse. Parrey maintains that every word of divine discourse incorporates unfathomable depths of meaning. It is impossible to translate the intention of God, while trying to give a word-for-word translation of the divine discourse. In no way can man provide an exact, and equivalent translation of the Quranic judgements. The Quraic verses are comprehensive and have a wide semantic range. They accomodate and display amazing force of articuation and have fluency of a hillside rivulet. The gripping efficaciousness of the Quran was acknowledged even by the sworn enemies of Islam, during the very life-time of the Prophet(s). Even they were mesmerized by its super-human eloquence and articuation. If any non-believer happened to be listening to its statements, he immediately vouched for its supernatural or divine genesis and origin. In fact, it would grip the head and heart of any listener and pierce into the depths of his soul.[80]

The language of the translation worked out by Parrey is simple and elegant. Some times, when it is difficult to find an exact substitute of a Quranic word or expression, Parrey uses two or three Kashmiri words or expressions with a view to capture various nuances of the original Quranic word or expression. At times, Parrey sounds to be representing rather than translating the Quranic verses. In his introduction, Parrey confesses that this method of representation or free translation has been adopted sometimes with a view to make the translation idiomatic, intelligible, easy and simple. A purely word-for-word translation is often unhelpful in the elucidation of various key contentions of the Quran. Moreover, such an approach does not enhance the inteligibility of the Quranic discourse as well. Besides, a literal translation of the world's most fluent, chaste, clear, attractive and bewitching discourse would confuse and even bore the prospective readers.[81]

In order to have an inkling of parrey's style of free translation, we shall be giving his translation of some opening verses of the Sura Baqara :

Alif-lam-Mim

1. This is the Book from Allah.
2. In it is no possibility of any doubt or suspicion. It guides and leads God-fearing people, to a straight path.

3. Who believe in the unseen,
   Are steadfast in prayer,
   And spend in the way of God,
   Out of what we have provided to them,

4. And who believe in the Revelation
   (i.e. the Sacred Quran),
   Sent to three (O-Messanger of God), Deem it based on Truthfulness and Authenticity And (furthermore) Sincerely believe. In all those books that were revealed to the prophets.
   Sent before thee
   And who have unwavering faith, conviction and assurance of the Hereafter (in their hearts).

5. They are on straight path, And on (true) Guidance
   (Shown by their unique lord),
   And it is these,
   Who will become successful.

6. As to those who reject faith,
   It is the same to them,
   Whether you warn, adomonish, convince or advise them or not,
   In no way will they believe
   (in the existence of God, the Sustainer of the worlds).

7. God hath set a seal
   On their hearts and on their hearing,
   And on their eyes is a veil,
   An exeruciating pain awaits them all.[82]

Moreover, certain new religious organisations with their respective ideological points of view emerged in twentieth century Kashmir. They interpreted the Quranic

discourse in keeping with their ideological viewpoints through their booklets, pamphelets leaflets and more so through their weekly and monthly congregations and conferences. The following religious organisations have had significant impact upon the Islamic consciousness of contemporary Kashmiri Muslim Society :

1. Anjuman-i-Nusrat ul-Islam
2. Anjuman-i Ahli-Hadith
3. Anjuman-i Tabligh ul-Islam
4. Jammat-i-Islami; Jammu & Kashmir

The basic aim and objective of Anjuman-i-Nusrat ul-Islam has been the dissemination of Islamic consciousness. It has always underscored the importance of the teachings of the Quran. Accordingly, through its journals and congregational discourses, the Anjuman has been emphasising the educational, moral and spiritual role of the Quranic teachings. The Anjuman has emphasised the relevance and significance of the point of view held by the orthodoxy of Ahl-i Sunnat-wal-Jamat.

The Anjuman-i-Ahli-Hadith, Jammu & Kashmir, in agreement with their mainland ideological counterparts, emphasised the need to accept only the original sources of Islam, viz. Quran and Sunnah. They reject the four jurisprudential schools of Sunni orthodoxy and underline the need for ijtihad i.e. the right of all qualified and competent Muslims to interpret the Quran in keeping with

the imperatives of the times. Moreover the Anjuman-i-Ahli-Hadith of Jammu & Kashmir took an uncompromising stand against those ritualistic modes of behaviour in Kashmiri Muslim society which did not fit in with what they thought to be the authentic world-view of Islam.

The Anjuman-i Tabligh ul-Islam has been featuring its Tafsir through its Journals such as Al Tabligh and Al-itiqad. Maulana Muhammad Quasim Shah Bukhari has been undertaking this Tafsir of the Quran. The Anjuman has been emphasising Sufi Mashrab and Hanafi Maslak through its Tafsir.

Similarly Jammat-i-Islami Jammu & Kashmir has been carrying out Tafsir of the Quran through its Journal Azan. It has been mainly emphasising the social, political, economic and administrative aspects of the Quranic message. In pursuance of its ideology, the Jammat has been emphasising those verses of the Quran which have social, political and economic relevance.

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Chapter - III

DEVELOPMENT OF ILM al-HADITH IN KASHMIR

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Historical Overview :

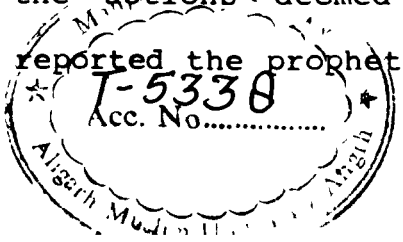
The word 'Hadith' literally means 'news'. In the Arabic lexicography, it is used to mean 'conversation'. It is used in this sense both in religious and secular contexts. The word 'Hadith' is also used as opposed to 'Qadim' which means 'old'. In the pre-Islamic literature too, the word is used in these very contexts. The word 'Hadith' is used in this sense in Quranic discourse and traditions of the prophet as well.

The authorities on Hadith i.e. 'Muhadithin', define 'Hadith' to be what is transmitted on the authority of the prophet. Hadith stands for Prophets' deeds, sayings, tracit approvals, as well as description of his appearance and physical features. However, the prominent authorities on Hadith do not include physical appearance to be an integral component of the definition of Hadith. The word 'Sunnah' which lexicographically indicates 'a way of life' or 'manner of living' is closely connected with 'Hadith', and has been interchangeably used by most authorities on Hadith literature.

Ilm al-Hadith is one of the original sciences that the early Muslim scholars developed. Any competent researcher of Ilm al-Hadith, will appreciate the massive

and wide-ranging nature of the Hadith scholarship and also realise its impact on the development of ethical, social, political, economic and legal sciences. During his prophetic dispensation, Muhammed(s) served as the examplary model for the emerging Muslim community. Besides imparting the message of Allah the Prophet(s) was actively involved in the day-to-day life-situations of his people. He guided the nascent community in all walks of life for a period of twenty-three years. While consolidating his ever-increasing following, he was deeply involved in the resolution of their social, political, economic, educational, legal and cultural questions. He taught them religious rituals and practices, social manners, business rules, techniques of warfare, procedures of government, methods of achieving prosperity, factors leading to the decline of civilisations and other multiple wordly matters in different contexts.[1]

The details of Prophetic traditions have been transmitted to us by thousands of his companions. They were associated actively with him day in and day out for a period of twenty three years. They minutely observed his missionary activities first at Mecca and then at Madina. The traditions they reported included his legal judgements and their questions and Prophet's responses. They reported the actions deemed to be allowed or forbidden. They reported the prophetic verdicts and cases settled by him.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The data thus collected was reported by the companions (Sahabis) to followers, the companions of the companions of the Prophet (Tabiyun). From them they were transmitted to the subsequent generaitons till they were recorded by the distinguished Muhadithin.[2]

The Prophet's traditions were transmitted even in his life-time. The speeches, discourses and letters of the Prophet were recorded by traditionists even when the Prophet(s) was engaged in the transmission of his message. Hadrat Ali, Hadrat Anas, Hadrat Abu Shah Yemani, Hadrat Abu Bakar Bin Khuram, Hadrat Abdullah Bin Hakim, Hadrat Wail Bin Hajjar, Hadrat Duhak Bin Sufian, Hadrat Maaz Bin Jabal, Hadrat Abdullah Bin Masud, Hadrat Abu Hurrairah, Hadrat Saad Bin Ibadah, Hadrat Saad Bin Rabi, Hadrat Abdullah Bin Rabi and Hadrat Musa Ashari are reported to have collected many traditions of the Prophet(s) in small tracts. However, the most celebrated collection of Prophet's traditions was compiled by Hadrat Abdullah Bin Umar Bin al Aas. It was entitled Sadiquah and contained one thousand traditions of the Prophet(s).[3]

During the times of four rightly-guided caliphs the compilation of the traditions of the Prophet i.e. his sayings and doings continued to be recorded and compiled. Hadrat Abu Bakar compiled a collection of five hundred traditions. Hadrat Ibn-i-Abbas compiled the biographical details of the Prophet from his slave Abu Rafia. Hadrat

Umar Farooq had compiled his memories of the prophets' times. Hadrat Abdullah Bin Abbas had compiled a collection of prophets' traditions. Imam Hassan had also compiled a collection of traditions. Other collections are also reported to have been recorded.[4]

The compilation of traditions continued even after the orthodox caliphate. For example, Abu Burda, Humam Ibn-Munbah, Bashr Bin Nahaik, Wahab Tabi, Nafi Tabi, Sulaiman Bin Qais, Urwah Bin Zubair, Imam Shabi et. al, continued to compile or collect the traditions of the Prophet.[5]

The first caliph who ordered the writing down of prophet's traditions, fearing they might be lost otherwise, was Umar Bin Abdul Aziz. He felt concerned that the traditions are too valuable to be entirely based upon the memory and oral transmission. Subsequently, the Abbasid caliph Abu Jaafar Al-Mansur deputed Ibn Shihab Al Zuhri for compiling the traditions of the prophet. Al-Zuhri did pioneering work in compilation of the traditions of the prophet. However he did not attempt to classify or order the traditions in various categories.[6]

The classification and categorisation of the traditions in accordance with their subject-matter was initiated in the later half of the second century of the Hijra. It was taken up by Ibn Juraij in Mecca Malik and Ibn Ishaq in Madina, Hushaim in Wasit, Maamar in Yemen,

Ibn-al Mubarak in Khurasan, al Rabi Ibn Subaih, Said Ibn Uruba and Hammad Ibn Salama in Basra and Sufian Al-Thawri in Kufa, Awaza'i in Syria and Jarir Ibn-i-Abdul Hameed in Rayy.[7]

The most important collection of this period is Malik Ibn Anas' compilation entitled Al-Muwatta. This is probably the only major work of this time that can be deemed to have reached us through accurate transmission. This collection is a model representing the method of recording prophet's traditions at the earliest.[8] The Muwatta is not entirely a book on prophets' traditions. It contains large sections pertaining to juristic inductions and deductions. However, it is the first major collection of the traditions of the prophet as well. Imam Malik has taken great pains to record authentic traditions of the prophet as were transmitted by authentic reporters. He arranged his Muwatta in order of subject-matter of the legal questions. Malik is reported to be the first compiler who incorporated vast heterogenous material of traditions under the heading Jami. The later traditions upto the end of the third century (H) followed the method adopted by Malik.[9]

In the development of Hadith literature Imam Ahmad Bin Hambal's Musnad is the next milestone. Of all the Musnad compilations this is the most exhaustive one. The objective of this compilation was not to collect only

authentic traditions of the Prophet. Imam did not arrange the traditions according to subject-matter as well. He was also not oriented towards any school of thought in his compilation. He simply collected and put together such traditions which according to him were likely to prove genuine and could possibly be authenticated by subsequent investigations.[10] Out of total of 750000 traditions reported by 700 companions pertaining to Maghazi, Manaquib, Rituals, laws, prophecies etc., the Imam did not choose his materials and authorities strictly and meticulously. However, he did not claim that all the traditions in Musnad were genuine or reliable.[11]

Later traditionists declared many traditions in Imams' Musnad to be baseless and forged (Maudu). The authorities on Asma al-Rijal declared many of the narrators relied upon by Imam to be unreliable.[12]

In spite of these obvious limitations, the Musnad of Imam was a landmark in the development of Hadith literature. It served as an important source for various subsequent compilers and paved the way for later compilations that are deemed to be more authentic and methodologically on a sounder footing.

The most important collections of Prophet's traditions after Muwatta of Imam Malik and Musnad of Imam Ahmad B. Hambal were the following six authentic collections of Hadith :

1. The Sahih al-Bukhari of Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Bin Ismail al-Bukhari.
2. The Sahih al-Muslim compiled by Abul Hussain Muslim Bin-Al-Hajjaj al-Nishapuri.
3. The Sunan of Abu Daud al-Sijistani.
4. The Jami of Abu Isa Muhammad B. Isa al-Tirmidhi.
5. The Sunan of Abu Abd al Rahman Ahmad B. Shuayt al-Nisai
6. The Sunan of Abu Abd Allah Muhammad B. Yazid al-Maja.

These collections are the source material of subsequent development of Ilm al-Hadith. Accordingly, we shall be giving a brief introduction of each one of these important collections of Prophets' traditions with a view to bring out the historical development of Hadith literature.

Al-Jami al-Sahih of Al-Bukhari is considered the most important of all works in Hadith literature. Al-Bukhari undertook painstaking research in the collection of his materials. Al-Bukhari travelled to distant places like Balkh, Nishapur, Hijaz, Egypt and Mesopotamia to obtain first-hand authentic information from one thousand masters of Hadith. Al-Bukhari devoted his life-time to the compilation of his Sahih. He had vast knowledge of traditions and allied subjects. While compiling he demonstrated the strict exactitude of a modern editor. He had the legal acumen of a highly sophisticated jurist. Consequently, he was able to produce

his Sahih which most of the traditionists accept as the most authentic work in Hadith literature. Sunni Muslims consider the authority of this compilation next only to the Quran.[13]

Al-Bukhari's collection is deemed to be most authentic among all the six authentic compilations. It is reported that Imam Bukhari taught his book to about 90000 students of the prophet's traditions. Subsequently, over sixty commentaries have been written on the same.[14] The voluminous commentaries have been written by Kirmani, Ibn-i-Hajjar Usqalani and Badr al-Din Aini.

Some traditionists consider Sahih al Muslim to be superior to Sahih al-Bukhari. However most traditionists deem it next only to Sahih al-Bukhari. Muslim examined about 300000 traditions of the Prophet with a view to compile his book. He selected only 4000 out of them and included them in his collection as unanimously authenticated traditions.[15]

Only those traditions were included in his Sahih by Muslim as had been handed down to him by a continuous chain of credible and authentic narrators. Such traditions were also in conformity with what had been reported by those narrators whose authenticity was beyond any disputation. Muslim classified traditions into three categories.

(a) "Those that were related by such narrators as had been straightforward and steadfast in their narrations, did not differ much in them from other reliable narrators, nor did they commit obvious confusion in their narrations".

(b) "The traditions the narrators of which were not distinguished for their retentive memory and steadfastness in narrations".

(c) "The traditions which were related by such narrators as were declared by the traditionists in general or by most of them to be of questionable reliability".[16]

Imam Muslim surpassed even al-Bukhari in methodological rigour and consistency. He carefully examined the differences between the reports of various narrators. In the arrangement of the traditions he showed greater acumen as well. He also did meticulous research regarding various chains of narration.[17]

Abu Daud Sulayaman Al-Sijistani's Sunan is a highly rated compilation of prophet's traditions and a perennial source of Islamic law. It has been accepted as the most reliable Sunan work and jurists of all hues and colours have used it for resolving legal disagreements or arriving at adequate and sound judgements. Imam Abu Daud worked for twenty years on his collection and sifted 4800 traditions out of 500000 reported Ahadith .[18]

Abu Daud was as scruplous and exacting in the collection of Prophet's traditions as his illustrious predecessors. However, at times, he differed with them in laying down standards that were too exacting and even exclusive. Like Bukhari and Muslim he did not collect only genuine traditions in his Sunan. In his Sunan we can trace even such traditions that were deemed doubtful and weak by some traditionists. He also did not rely solely on authorities that were deemed unanimously to be acceptable, but on controversial ones as well. However, he gave various sources through which he received his traditions. He also stated various versions of various traditions.[19]

The Jami of Al-Tirmidhi has been unanimously included among the six canonical collections of Hadith. In this Jami, Al-Tirmidhi has included those traditions of the Prophet on which the doctors of Islam belonging to various schools had already based rituals and laws of Islam. In his Jami, Al Tirmidhi also tried to fix the degree of reliability of traditions. He also tried to explain as to how they have been used by jurists belonging to various schools of jurisprudence. Zubair Ahmad Siddiqui in his book Hadith Literature writes about the method of classification adopted by Al-Tirmidhi in the following words :

> "He described the traditions, however, as Sahih (genuine), Hasan (fair), Sahih Hasan (genuine-fair), Hasan Sahih (fair-genuine), Gharib (rare) Da'if (weak), Munkar (undetermined) etc".[20]

Al-Tirmidhi did pioneering work in devising categories for the determination of the relative value of reliability of traditions. He stipulated some traditions as Hasan (fair). A Hasan tradition has been defined by Al-Tirmidhi as one that has been narrated by those narrators as have not been accused of falsehood. However such traditions must also be reported by more than one chain of narrators. They must not be contrary to what has been reported by other reliable narrators.[21]

Sixteen commentaries in all have been written on Sunan al-Tirmidhi.[22] In India Maulana Abdul Rahman Mubarakpuri has written a commentary entitled Tuhafat al-Akhwadhi on the same.

Abu Abd al Rahman Shu'ayb al Nasai has compiled another significant Sunan work. Nasai was one of the most distinguished traditionists of his age. He was unanimously held in great esteem by his contemporary traditionists. Nasai's Collection is counted in six of the canonical works.

Nasai compiled a large Sunan on legal traditions. In this compilation, as is admitted by Nasai himself, we encounter weak and doubtful traditions as well. However, Nasai thinks that these traditions are either fairly reliable or can be qualified as possibly reliable. Nasai also compiled a summarised version of his Sunan. According

to Nasai, this summarised version is comprised of reliable traditions only. The objective of Nasai's collection was primarily to establish the text of the traditions. He also intended to bring out the differences in their various versions. Accordingly, Nasai takes great pains to bring out differences in texts of various narrators. Sometimes Nasai would judge a tradition to be either correct or incorrect after having given its various versions. Nasai was punctiliously strict in the choice of his authorities. Some commentators of Hadith literature have pointed out that his canons of criticism of the narrator were stricter even in comparison to those of Muslim. However, many weak and doubtful traditions can be traced in his Collection. Many narrators of Nasai also turn out to be unknown and of doubtful integrity.[23]

One of the most reliable of Sunan works is one compiled by Ibn Maja, whose real name was Abu Abd Allah Muhammad bin yazid. Ibn Maja travelled through Islamic lands and joined important centres of learning in Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt and learnt from leading traditionists and theologians of his age. He authored many treatises on Hadith. However his fame chiefly rests on the Sunan. Four thousand traditions in 32 parts are contained in this Sunan. There are many traditions in the Collection which are deemed forged by competent authorities on Hadith.[24]

Besides these widely accepted credible collections on Hadith, there are several other important collections as well. Some of these important collections are the Sunan of Al-Daraqutni the Sunan of Al-Darimi, the Sunan of Al-Bayhaqi, the Sunan of Abu Muslim Al-Kashshi etc., which have also been used as reliable sources of legal and moral deductions across the lands populated by Muslims for several centuries.

The advent of Islam in India is conveniently deemed to be heralded by Muhammad bin Qasims' occupation of Sindh in 712 A.D. Before Muhammad bin Qasim, tradesmen had already introduced Islam to coastal Gujrat and Malabar. However, with the occupation of Sind, the Arabs started coming to South-Asia through sea as well as land routes. Slowly Arab cclonies started developing in Sind and along western coastal towns. This naturally started cultural interaction with local population and slowly and steadily Muslims began to establish centres of Islamic learning wherein Quran and traditions of the Prophet were disseminated among local converts and introduced amongst Non-Muslims. Some eminent scholars of Hadith and other theological disciplines came along with the Arab armed contingents during the very reign of Muhammad bin Qasim. Others came afterwards and initiated the dissemination of the traditions of the prophet. Such Muhadithin as Musa b. Yaqub al-Thaqafi, Yazid b. Abi Kabsha al Saksaki al-Damashqi, Al Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra, Abu

Musa Israel b. Musa al-Basri, Amr b. Muslim al-Bahili, Al Rabi b. Sabih al-Sadi al-Basri etc. ,were some of the distinguished authorities on the traditions of the prophet who propagated Ahadith during the first fifty years of Muslim rule in and around Sind.[25]

In third century (H) two independent Arab states were established in Multan and Mansura. During this period many local students visited Khurasan, Baghdad, Damascus and other Arab centres of learning with a view to achieve excellence in Ilm al-Hadith. Some of them emerged as authorities on Ilm al-Hadith in Central Asia and Arabia. For example, Abu Mashar Najih b. Abdul Rehman, Raja Sindhi, Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Raja, Abu Bakar Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Raja, Abu Nasar Fatah b. Abdullah Sindhi etc., learnt from eminent traditionists in Arabia and later on taught over there to succeeding generations of scholars. In this way, there emerged a considerable interaction between Arab Muhadithin and local Sindhi scholars during the early centuries of Islam in India.[26]

During the fourth century (H) three centres of Ilm al-Hadith emerged at Debal, Mansura and Qusdar. Many scholars went from these centres to Nishapur, Damascus, Baghdad, Beirut, Egypt etc., to learn and teach Ilm al-Hadith. Prominent among them were Abu Jafar al Daybuli, Ibrahim b. Muhammad Daybuli, Ahmad b. Abd Allah al-Daybuli, Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abd Allah al Daybuli,

Hasan b. Muhammad b. Asad Daybuli, Khalf b. Muhammad Daybuli, Hasan b. Hamid al Daybuli, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Salih Mansuri, Ahmad b. Muhammad Mansuri, Abd Allah b. Jafar Marah Mansuri[27], Jafar b. al-Khattab al-Qusdasi and Sibawaih b. Ismail b. Dawud al-Quzdari.[28]

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazana captured Lahore in 998 A.D. This gave a great filip to Muslim rule in India and consequently Islamic sciences also registered a phenomenal growth. Eminent scholars of Ilm al-Hadith poured into North-Western provinces of India and vigorously undertook to propagate the traditions of the prophet in and around Punjab. An eminent scholar of traditions Shaikh Muhammad Ismail al Lahori (d. 1056) originally from Bukhara, migrated to Lahore and through his discourses and social interaction succeeded in converting countless Non-Muslims to Islamic faith. Due to his untiring efforts Lahore became a great centre of Ilm al-Hadith and attracted people across central Asia and other Muslim lands.[29] Subsequently, Lahore produced such Muhadithin as Abul-Hasan Ali b. Umar Lahori (d. 1134), Abul-Fatah Abdal Samad b. Abdal Rahman al-Lahori (d. 1158) and Abul Qasim Muhammad b. Khalaf al-Lahori (d. 1148) whose name and fame spread to other Muslim lands as well.[30]

The Ilm al-Hadith was considerably developed during the long reign of Salatin-i-Dehli. During this period distinguished scholars of Ilm al-Hadith migrated from

central Asia and Arabia owing to unstable political conditions over there. During 7th century (A.H.), the study of Islamic Sciences such as Fiqh, Principles of Jurisprudence, Tafsir, Hadith, Tasawwuf, Logic, Linguistics and Syntax were included in curricula of the Madrasas. During the later half of the same century an outstanding sufi and scholar of Hadith Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakariyya al Multani (d. 1267) appeared on the scene and was instrumental in propagating Ilm al-Hadith in Punjab. Qazi Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani (d. 1220) disseminated Ilm al-Hadith as principal of Madrasa Feroz and Madrasa Nasiriah Delhi. Besides Burhan al-Din Mahmood b. Abi'l Khayr As'ad al Balkhi (d. 1288), Kamal al-Din Zahid (d. 1285), Radi al-Din al Badayuni and Abu Tuimah al-Bukhari al Hambal (d. 1330) also taught and disseminated Ilm al-Hadith during the same century. During 8th century (H) the interest of Muslim scholars was mainly confined to Fiqh, Logic and Philosophy. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq who ruled in the first half of 8th century (A.H.) was himself deeply interested in logical studies and patronised the study of logic and philosophical sciences. The study of Quran and Hadith was not given appropriate importance during these times. Scholars of Islamic studies were mostly confined to the study of Hanafi Fiqh and did not bother to undertake any indepth study of original sources of Sharia. As Ulama of the times were mainly

Fiqh-oriented, they mostly engaged themselves in legal and jurisprudential hairsplitting. However, during the same period four accomplished sufis who were deeply read in Ilm al-Hadith as well took up the cause of the dissemination of traditions. They were Shaikh Nizam al-Din Awliya, Shaikh Sharaf al-Din Yahya Maniri,Shaikh Zakariyya Multani and Mir Syed Ali Hamadani.[31]

Nizam al-Din Awlliya (d. 1325) was originally trained as a Qazi and was about to assume the same role. However, under the mentorship of Shaikh Farid al-Din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, he eventually emerged as one of the greatest Sufi-saints of all times. He, later on, took to the study of traditions of the prophet and made a comprehensive study of Musharig al-Anwar under the guidance of Mulana Kamal al-Din Zahid.[32] In view of the fact that there are weak traditions in Faud al-Faud, Shaikh Nizam al-Din cannot be accepted as an authority on Ilm al-Hadith. However, what is important is that Nizam al-Din Awlliya in his discourses brought out the necessity of the study of Ilm al-Hadith and inspired many of his disciples to take up the study of Ilm al-Hadith on their own. Thus many of his disciples achieved great excellence in Ilm al-Hadith and were instrumental in disseminating it in far-flung areas of the country. Prominent among them were Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Yahya al-Awadi (d. 1236), Fakhr al-Din Zarral al Samanuwi (d. 1347), Muhiyy al-Din

Jalal al-Din b. Qutb al-Din Kashani (d. 1319), Nizam al-Din Allami (d. 1334), Shaikh Nasir al-Din Chiragh-i-Dehlvi (d. 1356), Sayed Muhammad Gasu Daraz (d. 1422) and Qazi Shihab al-Din Dawlatabadi (d. 1445).[33]

Shaikh Sharaf al-Din Maniri (d. 1381) was the founder of another school of Ilm al-Hadith. He was a distinguished Muhadith of Bihar who had mastered Tawil al-Hadith, Ilm al-Rajal al-Hadith and Ilm Mustalhat al-Hadith. He quoted extensively from the traditions of the prophet in his books and letters. He also carried out extensive analyses on Riwayat-i-Bil-Mana and Shrut al-Ravi in his writings. Some of his important disciples who contributed to the development of Ilm al-Hadith were Shaikh Muzaffar al-Balkhi (d. 1384), Hussain Bin Muazz Bihari (d. 1441) and Ahmad Langar Darya al-Bihari (d. 1486).[34]

Shaikh Zakariyya Multani (d. 1267) founded an institute at Multan wherefrom Ilm al-Hadith was learnt and disseminated by a number of scholars. The significant contributions in this regard were made by Jamal al-Din Muhadith and Makhdum Jehaniyan Syed Jalal al-Din Bukhari (d. 1383).[35]

Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir

II. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani :

Mir Syed Ali Hamadani (1314-1385), widely acknowledged to have been instrumental in converting the

people of Kashmir to Islam, initiated the development of Ilm al-Hadith in the valley as well. Muhammad Ishaq in his book, India's contribution to the study of Hadith literature, points out that Mir Syed Ali Hamadani along with Shaikh Sharf al-Din Yahya Maniri and Shaikh Zakariyya Multani, was the first to introduce Ilm al-Hadith in South Asia.[36] Muhammad Farooq Bukhari also supports this in his book Kashmir mein Arabi ulum Aur Islami Saqafat ki Ishaat.[37] According to these two scholars, in the 12th and 13th centuries, when Muslims ruled over most parts of Northern and Central Asia, theologians were more interested in the cultivation of Fiqh and Kalam. Ilm al- adith could not flourish in comparison to Fiqh and Kalam.[38] The same pattern was observed in South Asia with the advent of Muslim rule.

Mir Syed Ali Hamadani wrote scores of books and pamphlets wherein he quoted extensively from the traditions of the prophet. Such books as Zakhirat al-Muluk, al-Awradiyah, Chehal Hadith, al-Sabin Fil-Fazail Amir al Mumin, Risal Rauzat al-Firdous, and al-Muadah Fil-Qurba wa-Ahl-al-Aba can be deemed to be significant contributions to Ilm al-Hadith. Zakhirat al-Muluk is basically a book on social, political and economic rights of man as well as his duties towards God and other fellow human beings.[39] However, all the ten chapters of the book are preambled by the traditions of the prophet(s).

Thereafter, he elucidates the traditions with a view to exactly pinpoint their core meanings. For example, in the second chapter, Hamadani quotes forty traditions of the prophet(s). Hamadani further quotes hundreds of traditions in Zakhirat al-Muluk to establish his mystical, moral, political and economic views. Consequently, Zakhirat al-Muluk introduced traditions of the prophet(s) in the valley of Kashmir and due to this many were inspired to take up direct study of basic books on Hadith such as the six authentic collections. However, scholars have also pointed out that, in view of the fact of Zakhirat al-Muluk having been mainly inspired by Al-Ghazali's Ahya al-ulum al-Din, Hamadani has quoted many traditions that are classified to be Daif or Gharib.[40]

Another manual namely al-Awradiyah of Hamadani has been written on characteristics, norms and merits of recitations. It consists of three chapters. All the three chapters have been substantiated by Quranic verses and traditions of the prophet. The traditions of the prophet(s) are traced from such authorities as Hadhrat/ Mughirah bin Shuba, Abu Hurairah, Abdullah bin Zubair, Abu Amamah, Abdul bin Bushair, Abu Ayub Ansari, Abu Musa Ashari, Abu Said Khadri and Aisha etc. In the first chapter of al-Awradiyah, Hamadani brings out the virtues and merits of recitations, whereas in the second chapter the importance of recitations in the cultivation of pure

morality and spiritual enlightment has been highlighted. The third and the last chapter deals with the comparative virtues of loud recitation and silent recitation.[41] Hamadani has justified both these modes by reference to the traditions of the prophet(s). He displays subtle powers of analysis while justifying the same and gives ample proof of his deep understanding of the theological controversies. Hamadani cites the tradition of the prophet(s) in support of the silent recitation of Quran viz.,

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم الجاهر بالقران كالجاهر بالصدقة والمسر بالقران كالمسربالصدقة

The Prophet(s) said that loud recitation of Quran is equivalent to open charity, whereas silent recitation is equivalent to secret charity.[42]

Another Risala namely, Risala Rauzat al-Firdaus by Shah Hamadan, is a collection of traditions of the prophet(s) regarding makarim-i-ikhlaq (Ethical standards). Shah Hamadan states in its introduction that he was stimulated to collect these traditions, in view of the overwhelming majority of the people getting digressed from Quran and Sunnah. Therefore, such traditions of the prophet which have striking and stimulating ethical content and message need to be taken up for intensive analysis and propagation. Almost two thousand traditions of the prophet figure in this Risala. These traditions pertain to rememberance of God, love of the family of the prophet(s), fear of God, knowledge, death, bida, sin and

forgiveness. For example, such traditions of the Prophet(s) are mentioned therein:

انا جليس عبدى عين ذكرنى وانا معه اذعانى

"When a servant remembers me, I become his companion, when he calls to me I am with him".

القران مع العلى والعلى مع القران

"Quran is with Ali and Ali is with Quran"

الايمان عريان ولباسه التقوى

"Faith is naked without the garments of righteousness"

الموت تحفة المؤمن

"Death is a gift for a believer"

التائب من الذنب كمن لا ذنب له

"A man who repents over his sins is as good as one who has committed no sin".[43]

Another Risala by Shah Hamadan entitled al-Muadah-Fil-Qurba-wa-Ahl al-Aba (Love of Prophet's kin and people of Aba), contains traditions of the prophet which indicate as well as illustrate the spiritual pre-eminence of the family members of the prophet. This Risala consists of fourteen chapters and each chapter is known as al-Muadah. The first al-Muadah pertains to prophet(s) himself and thirty five traditions of the prophet have been collected in this chapter. The second al-Muadah pertains to the merits of the family members of the prophet(s). Thirty five traditions of the prophet(s) have been quoted in this regard as well. The third al-Muadah pertain to merits of

Amir al-Mumin Ali. In this chapter nineteen traditions of the prophet(s) have been quoted. In the fourth al-Muadah again twelve traditions of the prophet(s) on Ali have been commented upon. In the fifth al-Muadah again nineteen traditions of the prophet(s) regarding Ali have been taken up for analysis. In the sixth al-Muadah twenty-five traditions of the prophet(s) have been paraphrased. These also pertain to Ali. In the seventh al-Muadah twenty traditions of the prophet have been quoted, indicating, thereby that Ali is the best of the people after prophet(s). In the eighth al-Muadah seventeen traditions of the prophet(s) have been discussed, showing thereby that prophet(s) and Ali originated from the same source of light. In the nineth al-Muadah twenty traditions of the prophet have been quoted showing that the keys of heaven and hell are in the hands of Ali. In the tenth al-Muadah again twenty traditions of the prophet(s) have been quoted dealing with number of Immams. It has been indicated that Imam Mahdi would be amongst them. In the eleventh al-Muadah sixteen traditions of the prophet pertaining to spiritual status of Fatima have been quoted. In the twelveth al-Muadah twenty-five traditions of the prophet(s) regarding the spiritual merits of Ahl-i-Bait (family members of the prophet(s) have been commented upon. In the thirteenth al-Muadah fifteen traditions of the prophet(s) are referred to. These traditions pertain

to spiritual merits of Khadija, Fatima and love of Ahl-i-Bait. In the fourteenth al-Muadah fifteen traditions of the prophet(s) pertaining to the spiritual merits of the prophet(s) and Ahl-i-Bait have been discussed.[44]

Apart from the above books, Hamadani has compiled two collections of the traditions of the prophet(s), namely, al-Sabin fi Fadail Amir al Muminin and Arba'in Ameeriyan. In al-Sab'in Hamadani has compiled seventy traditions of the prophet(s) in praise of Ali bin Abi Talib and his family members. Muhammad Ishaq points out that all these traditions have been taken from the collection of Musnad of Firdaus al-Daylmi's collection, which however, is not deemed authentic by distinguished authorities on Hadith.[45]

In 'Arba'in' Hamadani has compiled forty traditions of the prophet originally narrated by Anas bin Malik.[46] These traditions pertain to asceticism, ethical standards and dos and do nots recommended by Islam. Saeeda Ashraf who has written a good book on Hamadani summarises the main themes of the Risala as under :

1. "Amar Bil Maruf and Nahi Anil Munkar deputise prophet(s) and Book of Allah".
2. "The world is more bewitching than Harut and Marut".
3. "The world destroys faith as fire destroys Haizam".
4. "Two Rakats of prayer by a poor and patient believer are dearer to God than seventy Rakats of prayer by a wealthy and grateful one".[47]

In his other numerous books and tracts, Hamadani has extensively quoted from authentic collections of the traditions of the Prophet(s) which inspired scholars of Kashmir to study Hadith independently and disseminate it to succeeding generations.

After Mir Syed Ali Hamadani his son, Mir Syed Muhammad Hamadani (d. 1450) came along with a large group of scholars who were well-versed in Ilm al-Hadith. They established a network of mosques and madarasas in the valley and taught various Islamic sciences. Amongst them were certain eminent scholars of Hadith such as Muhammad al-Shami, Sayed Jamal al-Din, and Syed Muhammad Khawar, Syed Jamal al-Din established an institute of Islamic learning near Fateh Kadal, where he gave discourses on Hadith to a large gathering of students.[48] He was considered an outstanding scholar of Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh. Qazi Hussain Sheerazi was another eminent scholar of Hadith, who entered the valley along with Mir Muhammad Hamadani during the reign of Sultan Skandar (1389-1413 A.D.).[49] He has written a treatise repudiating a compilation of Hadith made by Baba Rattan Hindi. Baba Rattan Hindi, a Muhadith of late 14th century A.D., had compiled a book of traditions ascribed to the prophet. These traditions were challenged by such scholars as Allama Shamus al-Din Dhahbi, Ibn Hajr Usqalani and Allama Ibn Athir. However a critical evaluation of this collection had already been

written by Qazi Hussain Sherazi during the very life-time of Baba Rattan Hindi. He titled Baba's fabricated collection as Ahadith Rattaniah. Sheerazi wrote a commentary on the same and critically brought out the unauthenticity of this compilation and thus Muslims were saved from a great source of confusion and misunderstanding.[50]

III. Subsequent Development :

However, during the reign of Shahmiri dynasty (1339-1561), we do not find any significant development of Islamic sciences in Kashmir. People were yet to grasp the fundamentals of Islam and, therefore any discussion or debate on intricate theological matters could simply not have materialised. People would just sit at the feet of preachers and teachers connected with various Khanqahs and Madrasas and grasp the essentials of faith by listening to their discourses. When Kashmir was annexed to Indian subcontinent by Mughals in 1586 A.D., there was a great upsurge of religious scholarship and the study of Islamic sciences was taken up with zeal and fervour. Students from Kashmir travelled to various centres of learning in and outside India and many returned to the valley after attaining knowledge in theological disciplines. Amongst them were such eminent scholars as Allama Daud Mishkati, Maulana Muhammad Syed Gandsu and Shaikh Muhammad Taqi. Mishakati had memorized the world-famous Mishkat

al-Masabih.[51] Maulvi Muhammad Syed Gandsu was known as Bukhari-e-Hindi because of his complete mastery of Sahih-Bukhari. Shaikh Muhammad Taqi translated Qazi Ayaz Maliki's Shafa and Muhadith Hasan Saghami's Masharig al-Anwar into Persian verse.[52]

Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi was an outstanding scholar of 16th century Kashmir. He received sanad (certificate) from Ibn Hajjar Makki.[53] He wrote two commentaries on Hadith and compiled two Arabain. His first commentary on Sahih-Bukhari, is an authentic and highly advanced exposition of the world-famous collection of Shaikh Muhammad Ismail of Bukhara. This commentary has been a significant landmark in the development of Ilm al-Hadith in the valley of Kashmir. Unfortunately, this commentary is not available now. However, many scholars of Hadith have referred to it as a work of exceptional merit. Sarfi has written another commentary, namely Sharah Thalathiyat-i-Bukhari. Scholars have deemed it to be an authoritative analysis of the Thalathiyat, Sarfi has compiled two Arbain as well. In one Arba'in traditions of the prophet of Islam pertaining to the spiritual excellence of Ali have been collected and in another Arba'in Sarfi has collected traditions related to the spiritual merits of the family of the prophet (Ahl-i-Bait).[54]

Haji Muhammad Kashmiri was another distinguished scholar of Ilm al-Hadith. Born and brought up in Kashmir,

he received his early education at Delhi and later on received the Sanad (certificate) in Ilm al-Hadith from Ibn al-Hajjar Makki, in Arabia.[55] Shaikh Muhammad Baqi Naqashbandi was his spiritual guide. On returning to Kashmir, he devoted himself to preaching, teaching and writing. Allama Abdul Hayy Hasani described him as a great scholar of Hadith in his Nuzhat al-Khawatir.[56] A man of wide and varied learning, Haji Mohammad compiled as many as eighteen books. He also wrote commentaries on four treatises on Hadith, namely; Sharh Shama'il al-Nabi, Sharh Hisan Hasin, Sharh Masharig al-Anwar and Khulassat al-Jami'ah Fi Jam'a Hadith. The first commentary is on Sharh Shama'il al-Nabi. Shama'il al-Nabi is originally a part of Sunan al-Tirmidhi compiled by Imam Abu-Isa Tirmidhi wherein the habits, looks, and comportment of the prophet of Islam are outlined. Haji Mohammad has compiled this commentary at Khankah-i-Mualla in Srinagar in the year 1580 A.D. Haji Mohammad wrote another commentary Hisn Hasin. This commentary is in Persian and one of its manuscripts can be found in the library of Banki-pora 16/No. 1419. The other two commentaries are not extent. However, reference to these commentaries can be found in various books on the history of Islamic studies in India.[57]

Another scholar of Hadith in Kashmir Mulla Jawahar Nath Kashmiri was a contemporary of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi. He

devoted his whole life to the teaching and preaching of Hadith in Kashmir. He was Shaikh al-Hadith and Sadr Mudarris of Madrasa Sultan Qutub al-Din.[58] He was a student of Allama Dawud Khaki and had received instructions in Hadith from Allama Ibn Hajar Makki of Arabia in 16th century. Although we do not have any written work on Ilm al-Hadith by Mulla Jawahar Nath, yet his students and disciples were instrumental in propagating traditions of the prophet in the valley of Kashmir for a long time. The descendents of Mulla Jawahar Nath Kashmiri were also engaged in the propagation of Islamic sciences in Kashmir valley. Muhammad Azam Didmari writes that Mulla Jawahar Nath's family members established themselves on a high pedestal of learning.[59]

One more scholar of Hadith in 16th century Kashmir was Maulana Shangaraf Kashmiri. He too was instructed in Islamic sciences at Mecca and Madina.[60] He had specialised in Hadith literature and written a commentary on Shama'il Nabi. The manuscript is not available now. However, Mohammad Azam Didamari in his Waq'at-i-Kashmir refers to it and he himself being the grandson of Maulana Shangraf Kashmiri, the authenticity of the reference can not be doubted. In fact, Mohammad Azam Didmari writes that a manuscript of Maulana Shangraf's commentary on Shama'il Nabi is available with him and it contains a certificate by Allama Ibn Hajar Makki.[61]

Three Kashmiri students of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi disseminated Hadith in seventeenth century Kashmir. They were Khwaja Haider bin Feroz, Maulana Mueen-al-Din Naqshbandi and Shaikh Abdul Rahim. Khwaja Haider bin Feroz had learnt Ilm al-Hadith from Mulla Jawahar Nath Kashmiri. He was a disciple of Nasib-al-Din Gahzi as well. After acquiring education of Islamic sciences from these teachers he went to Delhi and received instructions from Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi.[62] Thereafter, he returned to Kashmir and taught to hundreds of students in Kashmir valley. His house became a veritable centre of Islamic learning. Later on, his sons Maulana Tahir and Maulana Afzal succeeded their father in teaching and preaching of Islamic sciences.[63] Shaikh Mueen al-Din was another student of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi. He wrote notes on the margins on a copy of the Sahih Bukhari which he had partly himself copied out.[64] Another student of Shaikh Muhaddith Dehlavi was Shaikh Abdul Rahim Kashmiri. We do not have any written treatise from him. However, his instructions and preachments were highly instrumental in disseminating Ilm al-Hadith in 17th century Kashmir.[65] Another Muhaddith Allama Inayatullah Shawl was an authority of Sahih al-Bukhari and is recorded to have revised Sahih al-Bukhari 36 times.[68] He was the contemporary of the Shaikh Dawud Mishkawati who is famous for having learnt

by heart the entire Mishkawt al-Masabih.[69]

Muhammad Amin Ghani was an authority on Ilm al-Hadith during the second half of 18th century. Muhammad Azam Didmari notes him to have been a profound scholar of his time.[66] He translated a treatise on Hadith namely Risala Fi-Usul al-Hadith which is originally in Arabic, into Persian with a view to make it easy for the audience and readership owing to the fact that Persian language was more in vogue during the times of Maulana Ghani. In this treatise, firstly, Hadith is defined. Secondly,Ahadith are classified according to the narrators, thirdly, traditions that are 'authentic-in-themselves' are differentiated from traditions that are not 'authentic-in-themselves', fourthly traditions are classified according to Sanad, fifthly traditions are classified as Matruk al-Amal (given up) and Ma'mul, and sixthly traditions are classified as repudiated in view of their chains of narration having been lost which traditions are further subdivided into Mu'allaq, Mursal, Muasal and Munquata. Seventhly, traditions are classified as Da'if because of their weak narrators.Eightly and finally those traditions have been mentioned that are alleged to have been reported by authorities unanimously deemed to be persons of weak memory.[67]

Khwaja Mohammad Amin Kashmiri and Shaikh Muhammad Usman Chishti were two prominent Kashmiri students of Shah Waliullah Muhaddith Dehlvi. Khwaja Mohammad Amin Kashmiri

attended the afternoon sessions and concourses of Shah Waliullah Dehlvi. He was a dedicated student of Shah Waliullah's thought and acknowledged as the greatest authority on the same during his times. He was in close touch with Shah Waliullah and, as a matter of fact, worked as his assistant. One of his most distinguished disciples was Shah Abdul Aziz, the illustrious son and successor of Shah Waliullah. He had specialised in Hadith and wrote notes on Shah Waliullah's commentary of Mu'atta entitled Musaffa.[70] Shaikh Mohammad Usman Chishti was another student of Shah Waliullah. After receiving education in Srinagar, he went to Delhi and studied Ilm al-Hadith and other theological Sciences from Shah Waliullah. We do not have any written works from Shaikh Mohammad Usman. However, a historian of Kashmir records Shaikh to have been a distinguished orator.[71]

Mufti Sadar al-Din Khan Azurda Dehlvi Kashmiri, and Muhammad bin Enayat Kashmiri were the students of Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlvi. Mufti Sadar al-Din Khan, the son of Lutfullah Khan Kashmiri was born at Delhi. He was a man of exceptional versatility and counted among the distinguished scholars of 19th century Delhi. According to Syed Ahmad Khan he was indisputably an accomplished genius and a master of Arts and Sciences, the like of whom could hardly be found during his times.[72] He was the Chief Justice of Delhi during the reign of Bahadur Shah Zafar.

Mufti Sadar al-Din wrote a treatise namely, Muntaha al-Maqal Fi Sharh Hadith La Tashadd al-Rijal. The point of discussion of this treatise is the religious justification or otherwise of visiting the shrine of the prophet of Islam. In this regard, a Sahih Hadith narrated by Abu Hurrairah and Abu Saeed Khudari reads as follows:

لا تشد الرحال الا الى ثلاثة مساجد مسجد الحرام ومسجدى هذا والمسجد الاقصى

On the basis of the above Hadith distinguished Muslim theologians like Ibn Taimiya and Ibn Hazm have observed that Shrine-visiting is prohibited. However many scholars of Islam have not agreed with this interpretation. Mufti Sadar al-Din was one of them. According to Mufti Sadar al-Din both Ibn Taimiya and Ibn Hazm have misunderstood the meaning of the Hadith under discussion. According to Mufti this Hadith cannot be interpreted to be a ban on the Shrine-visiting. He has supported his contention by recourse to Ahadith in Sahih-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Nasai and Musnad of Ahmad bin Hanbal. He has argued that Immam Ibn Jafar Tahawi, Allama Badur al-Din Aini, Hafiz Ibn Hajjar Usqalani, Muhaddith Nur al-Haq Dehlvi and Mulla Ali Qari hav derived the same conclusion from this Hadith. According to Mufti Sadar al-Din those who think that this Hadith forbids Muslims from the visiting of shrines are innocent of Fiqh. They also violate the established principles of Arabic grammar and are incapable of understanding the idioms and phrases of

Arabic language and literature. Mufti Sadar al-Din has quoted another celebrated Hadith viz.

انی قد نہیتکم عن زیارۃ القبور فزورھا

in support of Shrine-visiting. This Hadith has been interpreted by Mufti Sadar al-Din Azurda to be clearly and categorically supporting the practice of shrine-visiting. Mufti Sadar al-Din has also pointed out that companions of the prophet would unfailingly visit the shrine of the prophet(s) after they returned from their journeys. Mufti Sadar al-Din has also quoted from books dealing with textual interpretation, literature, semantics, history, logic and jurisprudence in support of his contention. He has also concluded from the same tradition that indiscriminate shrine-visiting need also not be indulged in by believers.[73]

Another student of Shah Abdul Aziz was Muhammad bin Inayat Kashmiri. His chroniclers have pointed out that he wrote summaries and commentaries on various voluminous collections of Hadith. Although he was trained under sunni teachers, he eventually became a critic of the Hadith literature compiled by sunni scholars. His treatise entitled Tanbih Ahl al-Kamal wal-Insaf 'Ala Ikhtilaf Rajal Ahl al-Khalaf was written with a view to cast aspersions on the authenticity of the narrators of Sihah Sittah. It is also recorded that he compiled Muntakhab Kanz al-Ummal wherein traditions of the prophet regarding Ali and Ahl Bait have been collected. He has also collected those

traditions of the prophet(s), which according to him, point out the demerits of his companions. Apart from these two books, Muhammad bin Inayat is also reported to have authored summaries of four books on Hadith viz, Fath al-Bari compiled by Shahab al-Din Abul Fazal Ahmad popularly known as Hafiz Ibn Hajar Usqalani, Irshad al-Sari'ala Sharah al-Bukhari compiled by Hafiz Shahab al-Din Ahmad bin Muhammad, Al Jama Bain al-Sahihayn compiled by Shaikh Hamidi and Musnad of Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal.[74]

During this very period, another scholar Shaikh Ahmad Waiz Kashmiri was an authority on Islamic Sciences. He wrote scores of tracts on various issues pertaining to Islamic Sciences. However, only a few tracts are available now, among which his commentary on Mulla Ali Qari's Arba'in entitled as Aain al-Jari Fi Sharah i-Arba'in al-Qari may be specifically mentioned. Shaikh Ahmad's contemporary Saeed Ahmad Indrabi was another commentator on Hadith. Apart from his other contributions in Islamic Sciences, he wrote a commentary on Qazi Ayaz Malikis Shifa.[75]

Maulana Abdul Rashid Shopiani was a prominent theologian of late 19th and early 20th century Kashmir . He wrote a treatise on Ilm al-Hadith, namely Nuzul al-Manttiqa. He was attached with Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal and wrote a comprehensive introduction to Nawab Siddiq's al-Manttiqa. In this introduction, Maulana

Shopiani demonstrated his talent for and understanding of Ilm al-Hadith. Apart from three main sections, the introduction consists of a preface and a conclusion. In the preface, the origin and significance of Maslak-i-Ahli-Hadith and its various gradations have been outlined. In the three main sections, he has brought out the contributions of Muhaddithin and the importance of Ilm al-Hadith apart from pointing out the significance of the book under consideration and the scholarship of the author of the book. In the conclusion, Maulana Shopiani has pointed out the many-sided scholarly contributions of Nawab Saddiq Hasan Khan and also given a brief biographical sketch of his own.[76] Four prominent scholars of Kashmir who were taught and trained at Deoband and who subsequently taught Ilm al-Hadith during mid twentieth century in the Kashmir valley were Maulana Syed Mirak Shah Kashmiri, Maulana Saif-ullah Kashmiri, Maulana Yousuf Shah Kashmiri and Maulana Abdul Kabir Kashmiri.

IV . Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri :

(i) Shaikh al-Hadith Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri (1875-1932) was born in the valley of Kashmir at Dudhawan (Lalab) in Kupwara. His father Maulana Muazam Shah was an eminent scholar of Islamic Sciences, apart from being well-versed in Urdu, Persian and Arabic languages. Allama Kashmiri started his studies at the feet of his own father. He completed the study of Quran and some

elementary Persian tracts within a couple of years. Later on, he was taught Arabic language and grammar, jurisprudence, logic and history by some local teachers. However in 1887 A.D. he went to Hazarah (now in NWFP in Pakistan), where he studied philosophy, logic and Arabic language and literature. In 1892 A.D. he came to study at Dar al-ulum Deoband. He was a student of Dar al-ulum Deoband for a period of four years. He studied Sahih Bukhari, Jami Tirmizi, Sunan Abu Da'ud, Sahih Muslim, Muatta of Imam Malik, Sunan- i-Nusai, Sunan-i-Ibn Maja, Tafsir Jalabeen, Tafsir Baizavi etc. He also studied the fundamentals of jurisprudence and logic. His teachers at Deoband were Shaikh al-Hind Maulana Mehmud al-Hasan, Maulana Khalil Ahmad Saharanpuri, Maulana Ali, Maulana Ghulam Rasul and Maulana Hakeem Muhammad Hasan. Allama Kashmiri, later on, co-founded Madrasai-Aminia along with Maulana Amin al-Din in 1897 AD. He was the head of the Madrasa-i-Aminia from 1897 AD to 1902 AD. Thereafter, he went to Kashmir and established Madrasa Faiz-i-Aam at Baramulla in 1902 AD. He taught there for three years and in 1905 AD he proceeded to perform Haj and visited Tripoli, Basra, Damascus and Cairo as well. The scholars over there gave him certificates in Ilm al-Hadith. He also availed of the opportunity to study basic commentaries on Hadith and Tafsir over there. From Hijaz he returned to Kashmir in 1908 AD. However, owing to certain local conditions and considerations, he returned back to Dar ul-ulum Deoband in

1909 AD. Shaikh al-Hind Maulana Mufti Mehmud al-Hasan insisted that he assume responsibilities of teaching at Deoband. Therefore, he just could not do otherwise and dedicated himself to the service of Dar ul-ulum Deoband. Allama Kashmiri was attached to the household of Maulana Qasim Nanutvi for twelve years as he did not seek any salary from Dar ul-ulum for the same period. Allama was unmarried upto forty-fourth year of his life. He was determined not to get married and devote himself single-mindedly to Islamic teaching and scholarship. However, he was persuaded by Shaikh al-Hind Maulana Mufti Mahmud al-Hasan, Maulana Hakim Muhammad Ahmad and Habib al-Rahman Usmani and other leading lights of Deoband to get married. He subsequently, got married and started taking salary from Dar ul-ulum. Thereafter, Allama Kashmiri became the Rector of Dar ul-ulum Deoband in 1914 AD and remained in the same position upto 1926 AD teaching Sahih al-Bukhari and Jami Tirmidhi.

However, owing to some administrative conflicts, Allama Kashmir had to resign from Rectorship of Dar ul-ulum Deoband in 1927 AD. He, subsequently, proceeded to Dhabil in Surat and started teaching at Jamia Islamia Dhabail where he remained for a period of five years. Along with Allama Kashmiri Maulana Syed Ahmad Akbarabadi, Mufti Ateeq al-Rehman Usmani, Maulana Hifz al-Rehman, Maulana Badar Alam Meerathi, Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani, Maulana Siraj Ahmad Rashidi, Maulana Syed Muhammad Idris,

Maulana Yahya, and two hundred seventy five students also proceeded to Dhabial. Allama Kashmiri passed away at Deoband in 1932 AD.

According to Maulana Muhammad Binuri, Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri has divided Hadith Sahih into four categories : Firstly, those traditions of the prophet which are reported by authorities acknowledged to be judicious, authentic and professionally competent. In addition, the traditions should be supported by authorities of first three centuries. For Allama Kashmiri such traditions can be accepted to be of the highest authenticity among Sahih traditions. Secondly, those traditions which are categorically declared to be Sahih by A'imma-i Hadith are the next to above mentioned Sahih traditions. Thirdly, any tradition of the prophet(s) quoted by a Muhadith who has been well-known for his uncompromising zeal regarding sifting of authentic traditions from unauthentic ones. For example, Ibn Huzaimah, Ibn Habban and Abu Unayna have been well-known for their painstakingly authentic research in their compilations. Fourthly, any tradition which is safe from the allegation of Shaz-wa-Munkar and has been reported by authentic scholars and seconded by Muhadithin of first centuries can also be deemed to be Sahih.[77]

Allama Kashmiri has contributed to the technical terminology of Ilm al-Hadith as well. The foundationalists

(Asulin) of Ilm al-Hadith have defined only th chain of narration (Tawatur Asnad). However, they have not systematicallyclassified the kinds of 'Tawatur'.

The Tawatur has been discussed both by foundationalists (Asulin) and scholastics (Mutakalimeen). However, Allama Kashmiri has for the first time classified chains of narration into four kinds. Twatur al-Asnad, Twatur al-Tabqat, Twatur al-Amal and Twatur al qadri-Mushtarak.[78] Firstly, such traditions which have collectively and continuously been reported by large sections of the people during the first three centuries of Islam and which have always been deemed to be beyond suspicion and doubt are subsumed under the category of Twatur al-Asnad. This is the prime criterion on the basis of which later Muhaddithin have been basing their various traditions and tracts. For example, the tradition -

من كذب على متعمدا فليتبوأ مقعده من النار .

"One who deliberately ascribles a false tradition to me reserves a place for himself in hell", has been authentically and consistently reported by thirty companions of the prophet. Similarly, out of one hundred and fifty traditions pertaining to finalty of the prophethood, thirty are found in Sahahi Sittah. These thirty traditions can also be subsumed under the category of Tawtur al-Asnad.

Secondly Tawtur al-Tabquat signifies that one group of people receives traditions from another group of people

with exactly similar text just as Quran is available throughout the world and is taught, read, memorized recited as one and same. It is passed on from one gneration to another in that very order. The traditions reported in this way, do not necessarily require a well-documented chain of narrations.

Thirdly, Tawatur al-Amal signifies continuity in practice. For example, prayer, obligatory duties, practices and rituals which have been handed down to the Muslim community throughout the history of Islam are based on Tawtur al-Amal. In such a Tawtur any discrepancy or mistake is impossible to arise. In this kind of Tawatur again the chain of narrations is not needed. Fourthly, if we receive traditions by various sources on the basis of a single narration khabr wahid, but all authorities have accepted them or agreed upon them, the process is known as Tawtur al-Quadr-i-Mushtarak and the tradition is acceptable as authentic. For example, the miracles of the prophet(s) have been reported to us by means of this very Tawatur, and are considered authentic.[79]

According to Allama Kashmiri Ilm al-Hadith entails detailed historical, circumstantial and biographical studies. The Muhaddith should be a historically informed person. He should have a clear and transparent analysis of the circumstances through which a particular narrator has passed in his personal life. He should also have the

biographical details of the narrator at hand, for example, whether the narrator was reliable or untrustworthy, truthful or untruthful, a person of sound memory or of a forgetful type. He should also know whether the narrator was God-fearing and honest or self-centric and selfish. Thus apart from an understanding of the text of the traditions of the prophet, the Muhadith should also have a fair grasp of these technical factors as well. This is dealt with under another cognate field known as Ilm al-Rijal, wherein the personality features and situational factors of a particular narrator are analysed, verified and cross-checked in the light of available historical and biographical data. Thus Ilm al-Rijal is of foundational significance in the validation and verification of the traditions of the prophet. It is crucially important in understanding the nature of the traditions, their Tawil and Tatbiq (harmonious construction).

Therefore, Allama Kashmiri took a deep interest in Ilm al-Rijal. Fortunately he was blessed with a phenomenal memory. He brought out the meanings and implications of the traditions of the prophet(s) within an overall Hanafi framework. He elaborated upon Umdat al-Quari by Allama Badar al-Din Aini and rebutted the prejudicial charges against Hanafi school levelled by Muhadithin of other schools of jurisprudence. He brought out the methodological discrepancies in the investigations and

interpretations of Hafiz Ibn Hajjar Usqlani. In fact, he did not confine himself to the controversies among competing schools of jurisprudence, but encircled the entire Ilm al-Hadith and Islamic law. His treatises such as Anwar al-Mahmud and al-Araf-u-Shazi summarise Allama Kashmiri's comments on Muhadithin belonging to various schools of jurisprudence. These also depict his deep insight into and understanding of Ilm al-Rijal. Whenever Allama takes up any tradition for discussion, he undertakes a detailed account of its narrators and brings out as to how that tradition has passed on from one source to another. He also discusses the authenticity of concerned chains and even points out the credibility of various narrators in the light of Ilm al-Rijal. His works specially Fasal al-Khitab, Nil al-Farqaddin, Kashf al-Satar etc., demonstrate a high quality of research and investigation with regard to chains of narrators.[80]

Allama Kashmiri analysed various traditions of the prophet(s) contained in basic collections of Ahadith and evaluated their authenticity, and placed them in their proper perspective of methodological cross-verification. For example, he has discussed traditions, under various chapters in Sahih al-Bukhari, Tirmidhi, Abu Dawud, Nasai Ibn Maja etc., and undertaken their analysis from historical, comparative and etymological points of view.

Apart from this, Allama Kashmiri has critically evaluated the contributions of distinguished Muhadithin

such as Ibn Taimiyya, Ibn Hazm, Allama Jamal al-Din, al-Zali, Imam Tahwi, Badur-al-Din Aini, Hafiz Ibn Hajjar Usqulani, Yahya bin Mu'in etc. Allama Kashmiri has evaluated them most judiciously and respectfully. However, he has been critical were it has not been possible for him to agree with a particular interpretation. Somtimes he has been critical even of the excessive methodological rigour displayed by certain scholars of Hadith. For example, he considered Ibn Hazm to be a profound scholar of Islam. He had almost learnt his Al-Milal wal-Nahal and Al-Muhala wal-Majala by heart. However despite his great appreciation of and respect for Ibn Hazm he criticises his literalism.[81] In his Nil al-Farqadin li-rafa Yadin, Allama Kashmiri has commented upon the rigorism of Ibn Hazm as follows :

> "The earlier scholars of Hadith were not obsessed with the chain of narration. It is the later scholar who asked for the sources of Hadith and when they could find none at many places they even went to the extent of denying the authenticity of Tawtur al-Amal. Ibn Hazm has excessively undertaken such a pointless exercise in his al-Muhala wal-Majala as if the happenings that could not be certified by the chain of narrations could not have happened at all. However, this is absolutely false. Adopting this very wrong approach, Ibn Hazm rejected many a commonly agreed upon matters which were derived from single narrations. In this way he spoils more than he crafts. Such a method (individual inductions and deductions) is highly damaging".82

Allama Kashmiri was highly appreciative of Ibn Taimiyyah's scholarship and learning. He considered Ibn

Taimiyyah a profound scholar of Islamic Sciences and was fond of quoting his investigations both in his books and speeches. However, he respectfully examines his Tafarrudat critically. He differed with Ibn Taimiyya at times and did not approve of his extraordinary zeal and emotional heat with regard to his radical theological stances. He opined that Ibn Taimiyyah forwarded highly prsonalised constructions on various basic and peripheral issues and went against general consensus arrived at by most distinguished theologians. Allama Kashmiri has also defended Imam Tahawi, a great scholar of Hanafi school against the critical comments of Ibn Taimiyyah who had opined that Imam Tahawi was innocent of deep understanding of Ilm al-Hadith. Allama Kashmiri has pointed out that accomplished scholars of Ilm al-Hadith have brought out the soundness of Imam Tahawi's judgements in Ilm al-Hadith and repudiated the critical incurions of Ibn Taimiyyah.[83]

Allama Kashmiri was one of the greatest teachers of Hadith in Indian subcontinent. Although Allama would take deep interest in jurisprudential controversies, his style of teaching did never indicate that he was subordinating Hadith to Fiqh or stretching traditions of the prophet(s) to suit Hanafi Maslak. He would clearly and expressly say that Fiqh is to be accepted by reference to Hadith and not vice-versa. His stand was that Hanafi Fiqh was a function or product of traditions of the prophet(s).

Allama would maintain that we on our own can understand from every tradition what has been arrived at by Imam Abu Hanifa. In support of his contention he would give examples of main controversies between Hanafi and Shafi'i schools of jurisprudence and in the light of the principle of harmonious construction of traditions he would indicate how Hanafi Fiqh was entirely in accord with traditions of the prophet(s). He would say that we do not want to prove the superiority of Hanafi school of jurisprudence in comparison to other schools, rather the textual discourse of Hadith clearly accommodates the grounds on which Fiqh Hanafi stands constructed.[84] Highly authentic books on Hadith would always remain under his view and he would authenticate to any claim about any tradition by reference to other traditions and when a claim regarding any tradition would be supported by other traditions, it would straightly and clearly bring out the aptness of Hanafi juristic derivations.[85]

Allama Kashmiri would consider himself a Mujtahid rather than a Muqalid. However he would say that his independent and rational legal or juristic inductions and deductions would corroborate with Hanafi Fiqh. His Ijtihad would be based on the Nasus. In point of fact, he may be said to be Mujtahid Fil-Taqlid and Muhaqiq Fil-Itiba. One may say that in this Naqli (traditional) discipline i.e. Hadith, Allama Kashmiri would discuss both from chains of

narration as well as from rational standpoint and bring out every controversy in its appropriate perspective.[86]

According to Qari Muhammad Tayyib, former Rector of Dar ul-ulum Deoband, in the twilight years of Allama's life, he again dedicated himself to the elucidation of Hanafi Mazhab. He was totally engrossed in presenting rare insights and arguments in support of Hanafi thought. It would seem that the ultimate grounds for Hanafi Mazhab were revealed to Allama by Allah; as if Allah had opened up his heart to the intricacies of Hanafi thought and as if he was appointed for the elucidation of the same.[87]

Allama Kashmiri would go by the principle of Tatbiq wa-Tawfiq in reporting chains of narration for various traditions. He would follow the same principle of Tatbiq wa-Tawfiq while reporting the juristic chains in case there would arise a conflict amongst various schools of jurisprudence. He would apply the guiding principle of Kharuj anil-Khilaf set by Imam Abu Hanifa himself, with a view to reconcile controversial interpretations. His method was to minimize the scope of confrontation between conflicting standpoints. Sometimes this method would lead to giving up of the opinion of Imam Abu Hanifa himself and adopting of the contention of other founders of juristic schools. Allama Kashmiri would call this stance as disloyality to Abu Hanifa during the last years of his life, when possibly he had developed total commitment to

Fiqh-Hanafi and given up his original conciliatory approach.[88]

(ii). Allama Kashmiri's Works :

(a) Faid al Bari fi Sharh Sahih Bukhari : Faid al Bari is the collection of Allama Kashmiri's lectures delivered during the teaching of Sahih Bukhari. These lectures have been compiled in chaste Arabic by Maulana Badr Alam Meerathi. It presents a true picture of Allama Kashmiri's masterly accomplishments in Ilm al-Hadith. In these lectures Allama Kashmiri has concentrated on those very traditions of the prophet which have not been widely commented upon by earlier authorities. These lectures show Allama's seasoned comments and elucidations, scholarly achievements, profoundity of vision and investigative research.[89] Faid al-Bari has been published in four volumes. The first volume starts with باب . كيف كان بدو الوحي upto باب العيم . The second volume starts with باب ماهيى من سيب الوامـوات upto باب الصلوة . The third volume begins with باب لزكـوة upto باب المواد من غير . The fourth and the last volume starts with باب بدالخـلق upto باب قول الله This volume completes all the chapters of Sahih Bukhari. This collection comprises of highly meaningful and valuable discussions pertaining to the Quran, Hadith, Kalam, Semantics and Rehtorics.[90]

(b) Anwar al-Bari : The contributions of Allama Kashmiri have been mainly worked out in Arabic language. Therefore they were not available to students and scholars of urdu. In view of the same, Maulana Syed Ahmad Raza Bijnori has translated all the notes taken from Allama's lectures in Urdu. These translations have been published in thirteen volumes. While compiling Anwar al-Bari Maulana Syed Ahmad Raza Bijnori has given the original reference of the traditions as well. In addition, various details regarding different schools of jurisprudence have been argued about. Therefore, this compilation has achieved a high standard of research.[91]

(c) Anwar al-Mahmud Fi Sharh Sunan Abu Da'ud : This work has been compiled on the basis of the lectures delivered by Allama Kashmiri on Sunan Abu Daud. The lectures have been compiled with great methodological rigour and the contributions of Allama have been additionally corroborated by references to the opinions of other great scholars of Ilm al-Hadith. The book consists of two volumes and has been compiled by late Muhammad Siddique Najibabadi. The first volume consists of 616 pages and runs upto Kitab al-Mansak. The second volume consists of 576 pages and starts with Kitab al-Nikah upto Kitab al-Adab.[92]

(d) Al-Araf al-Shazi'ala Jami al-Tirmidhi : This book is a paraphrase of world famous Jami Tirmidhi. This is also a

collection of Allama Kashmiri's classroom lectures on Jami Tirmidhi. It has been compiled by Maulvi Charagh Muhammad Punjabi. This book runs into 544 pages, starting with Bab al-Taharat upto Bab al-Manaqib. This is a well-written work and discusses the controversial questions raised by various schools of Hadith and Fiqh. It illustrates the kinds of Hadith in the light of the principles of Ilm al-Hadith. This book is highly commendable from the technical point of view. It is a goldmine of investigations of traditions of the prophet. The quotations of Allama Kashmiri have also been given in it. In addition, the quotations of the scholars of Hanafi school have been prominently quoted. Such non-Hanafi scholars of Hadith as Khatabi, Ibn Abdul Bar, Hafiz Fadullah, Aziz al-Din Bin Abdul Salam, Ibn-i-Daqia al-id, Ibn Syed al-Nas-al-Yaamari, Tayyibi, Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, Burhan al-Din Mughatai, Burhan Halabi, Hafiz Jamal Zaili and Ibn Hajjar Usqalani, do also find mention in this compilation.[93]

Apart from writing books on Ilm al-Hadith Allama Kashmiri was an excellent teacher of Hadith. The main features of his teaching may be outlined as below :

1. The first and foremost objective of Allama Kashmiri's teaching of Hadith was to explain traditions of the prophet(s) in the light of Arabic idioms, usage and syntactical rules. He held that the traditions of the

prophet cannot and should not be subjected to the requirements of academic terminology in vogue. We must bear in mind that traditions of the prophet are historically prior to technical terms designed later on by practitioners of Ilm al-Hadith. Such a strategy may also lead to an undermining of the traditions of the prophet. It is therefore methodologically unsound and spiritually unacceptable to try to fix the traditions of the prophet in our favourite terminological pigeonholes.

2. During his lectures Allama Kashmiri would trace the origin of a given tradition in the Quran and thereby render easy certain difficulties faced while understanding the Quran itself.

3. Allama would comment on Asma al-Rijal during his lectures as and when the need arose. Especially he would single out those chains of narration which were controversial among various Muhadithin. After bringing out the controversy from the point of view of jarah wa ta'dil he would forward his own judgment regarding the credibility of a particular narrator. He would classify traditions under such categories as Sahih, Hasan, Da'if, Ghar'ib and Maw'du.

4. While commenting on Fiqh derived from the traditions of the prophet(s) he would quote from all the four schools of sunni jurisprudence and bring out the strongest arguments forwarded by their respective juristis.

Lastly, he would point out the pre-eminence of Hanafi Maslak in the light of his own unflinching loyalty to the same.[94]

Maulana Idris Kandhalvi says :

> "In sum and substance his class-room lectures would remind one of the earliest Muhadithin. When he would comment upon th text of Hadith, he would remind one of Imam Tahawi or Bukhari or Muslim. While talking on Fiqh al-Hadith it would appear as if Muhammad bin Hasan al-Shaibani was delivering a discourse. While lecturing on the range and depth of Hadith, it would appear as if Taftazani and Jurjani were speaking. When he would comment upon the secrets of Shariah, it would appear as if Ibn al-Arabi and Sharani were commenting upon the same".[95]

V. Other Contemporary Developments :

In modern times, several religious organisations have been in the forefront of disseminating Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir. The prominent organisations that were actively involved in disseminating traditions of the prophet were Anjuman-i-Nusrat al-Islam, Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam and jammat-i-Islami, Jammu and Kashmir. These organisations originated and developed in the first half of the twentieth century. They tried to disseminate traditions of the prophet through writing of tracts, and booklets. In addition, they brought out monthly magazines and weekly journals in which traditions of the prophet were regularly featured. As these organisations had their definite ideological orientations they tried to interpret traditions of the prophet in the

light of their own pre-suppositions and assumptions as well as aims and objectives.

The Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith was founded in 1923. However, prior to its founding its exponents worked very hard in the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir to disseminate their basic tenents. Maulana Syed Muhammad Hussain Batkhoo was the first person to have been influenced by Ahl-i-Hadith doctrines. Born around mid-Nineteenth century, Maulana was initially taught by Maulana Mir Waiz Yahya at Srinagwar. Later on Maulana Batkhoo went to Lahore, Amritsar and Delhi for higher Islamic studies. At Amritsar he was taught by Maulana Ghulam Ali Amritsari. At Delhi, he was taught by Mian Syed Nazir Husain, who was a leading light of Ahl-i-Hadith movement in Northern India. Maulana Hussain Bathkoo returned to Kashmir fired with the missionary zeal to spread the Ahl-i-Hadith point of view. He encountered wide-spread resistence throughout the valley as the people of the valley were deeply inspired by and committed to what is commonly labelled as Beralvi Maslak. However, he was able to generate doctrinal debate in the valley on the fundamentals of Islamic world-view.[96]

Maulana Muhammad Anwar was a dynamic theologian and propagandist of Maslak Ahl-i-Hadith. He travelled most parts of the Jammu and Kashmir State including Ladakh and disseminated the ideology of Ahl-i-Hadith for a period of

sixty years. He wrote a number of books and treatises including Ta'lim Sunnat, Bashart al-Mu'minin Diwan-i-Anwari Guldasta-i-Anwari, Wird-al-Muhaddithin, Nasihat al-Niswan. In Ta'lim-i-Sunnat, Maulana Muhammad Anwar has quoted hundreds of the traditions of the prophet by way of referring them to their original sources viz., Sunan-i-Nisai, Sunan-i-Abu-Da'ud, Sahih Muslim, Sahih Bukhari, Sunan-i-Majah, Sahih Tirmidhi and Mishakt Shareef. In this treatise Maulana Shopiani has also referred to Qawl-i-Hadith and Fil-i-Hadith and Taqriri Hadith i.e. what has been done before the prophet and approveld of by him.[97]

All these treatises are in versified Kashmiri, wherein the author has translated hundreds of traditions of the prophet in Kashmiri verses with a view to project the point of view held by exponents of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. The versified treatises are in Mathnav form. In Basharat al-Muminin[98] about 70 traditions of the prophet have been translated into Kashmiri verse.

Maulana Abdul Gani Shopiani was the son of Maulana Anwar Shah Shopiani. He received his earlier education from his father, Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shopiani and some local teachers. Later on he attended Nur al-Islam Oriental College Srinagar. Afterwards, he proceeded to Sialkot, where he was taught various traditional and rational sciences by Maulana Abul Hasan Ubaidullah Sialkoti.[99]

On returning to Kashmir, he joined his father who was in the thick of spreading Masalak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith in

the valley. After the death of Maulana M. Anwar Shopiani, Maulana Abdul Gani Shopiani succeeded him and was involved in spreading the message of the Quran and the Hadith for half a century.[100]

Maulana wrote several books in prose and poetry in Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Kashmiri. However, two of his books are significant from the point of view of disseminating of traditions of the prophet viz, Chahal Hadith or Risala-e-Arba'in and al-Ratab al-Jani.

Chahal Hadith compiled by Maulana Abdul Ghani Shopiani consists of ten sections. Each section starts with five verses of the Quran and ends with five traditions of th prophet.[101] In al-Rutub al-Jani Maulana Abdul Gani Shopiani has projected th viewpoint of Ahl-i-Hadith by quoting about 89 traditions of the prophet. The treatise is in Kashmiri verse in Mathnavi form. The traditions are quoted in support of the view that Muslims are to allowed invoke only Allah in case they need succour while facing adverse conditions of life. A Muslim, in the light of Quranic injunctions and traditions of the prophet, is not allowed to seek intermediary intercession and invoke the name of such sufis as Abdul Qadir Jilani or Khwaja Muin al-Din Chishti etc., as was in vogue among majority of Kashmiri Muslims, more especially upto early twentieth century. This treatise was highly instrumental in propagating Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith among Kashmiri

Muslims, as it is written in simple and lucid style. The traditions quoted and versified in Kashmiri language are from six authentic books.[102]

Maulana Siddiqullah Hajini of Kashmir had written a versified tract in Kashmiri language entitled Rad-i-Wahabi, wherein he had tried to provide a critique of the interpretation of Islam as worked out by Shaikh Muhammad bin-Abdul Wahab of Najad, Arabia. Maulana Hasini had tried to project the validity and need for intercession by Awalia ullah or Muslim saints, in the light of certain traditions of the prophet. Thereafter, Maulana Abdul Gani Shopiani wrote another treatise in Kashmiri verse quoting traditions of the prophet in support of the viewpoint of Wahabis and exponents of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. Maulana Shopiani's treatise is titled al-Rutab ul-jani-Fi-Rad-i-Hafwat al-Hajini. It has been published in 1967 AD. at Srinagar under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Ghurba-i-Ahl-i-Hadith.[103]

An accomplished scholar of Islamic Sciences, Maulana Muhammad Qasim Shah Bukhari, has played a crucial role in the dissemination of these Sciences in mid-twentieth century Kashmir. Maulana is a graduate from Dar ul-ulum Deoband and after his return to valley in 1944 he joined Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam in Kashmir. He subsequently rose to become the president of the Anjuman in 1960. He is the author of several books on Hadith, Fiqh, Sufism and Islamic history.

Maulana has been editing a monthly journal al-Tabligh which has been the official organ of the Anjuman since 1963. Maulana himself has been writing Dars-i-Quran, Dars-i-Hadith and Bab al-Fatawa in this journal since its inception. In view of certain legal implications al-Tabligh is currently brought out as al-Itiqad.

Through the pages of al-Tabligh Maulana has brought out the teachings of the prophet and interpreted the traditions in simple Urdu. He has attempted to especially interpret those traditions of the prophet which have contemporary relevance. For example, in the monthly issues of al-Tabligh Maulana has concentrated on the interpretations of traditions pertaining to Ibadat and Mamalat. In the context of Ibadat such matters as La-ilah-illallah (there is no God but Allah), Namaz, Zakat and Haj have been taken up for discussion. Under the heading of the first principle of Islam i.e. Kalima-i-La-ilah-illallah (there is no God but Allah) Maulana has quoted those traditions of the prophet which describe various aspects of belief in God[104], the crucial significance of the recitation of La-ilah-illallah[105], and the importance of Ikhlas (sincerity) in worship.[106] Under the heading of Namaz Maulana interprets those traditions of the prophet which pertain to reciting of Bismillah in Namaz silently and Amin in low tune. The traditions pertaining to Amin-bil-Sir and Rafa-ya-dain[107] in Witr[108] have also been

quoted and commented upon. A tradition regarding prophets' reciting of Da-i-Qunut[109] in morning prayer for a period of one month has also been mentioned.

As regards Saom (Fasting), Maulana Bukhari has quoted those traditions which spell out the spiritual merit of fasting[110], intercessionary[111] potential and purificatory power[112] of keeping fasts. As regards Zakat[113] (Obligatory charity) Maulana ha commented upon traditions of the prophet pertaining to significance of Zakat[114], criteria of Zakat[115] and the philoophy of Zakat[116].

A regards Haj (pilgrimage), Maulana ha quoted traditions of the prophet pertaining to obligatory nature of Haj[117], spiritual merit of Haj[118] and significance of Haj.[119]

As regards Mamlat Maulana has commented upon thoe traditions of the prophet which relate to moral values, interpersonal relationships of Muslims[120], responsibilities of Muslim scholars[121] and spiritual significance of various prayers and practices.[122] For example, traditions relating to Husn-i-Khulaq[123] (good manners) and Itlifaq[124] (unity) have been quoted and interpreted. Traditions pertaining to the treatment of slaves, servants and subordinates have also been commented upon. Traditions of the prophet ordaining love of God[125], love of the prophet of God[126] and love of the friends of God[127] have also figured for comments.

The Anjuman-i-Nusrat-al-Islam, an educational, religious and reformist organisation founded in 1899 by Ghulam Rasood Shah, has been featuring Dars-i-Hadith in its monthly organ Nusrat al-Islam. The monthly has been featuring those traditions which have an educative and reformative value. For example, such traditions have featured in this monthly : "Whenever and in whatsoever state, save yourself from disobedience to God. Do a good deed whenever you happen to commit a sin. A good deed blots out a sinful action. Develop good relations with people in life". While interpreting this tradition , it is pointed out that men are naturally prone to committing a wrongful deed. It is in the very project of human existence worked out by the inscrutable will of God. Man cannot wholly avoid falling into sin. However, man should do some good turn with a view to neutralise a sinful action. For example, one could offer prayers or give charity or seek Allah's mercy. He could sincerely repent over an act of wrongful commission and hope for the forgiveness of Allah.[128]

Similarly another tradition viz., "The actions are authenticated by intentions" quoted and interpreted in Nusrat-al-Islam also has a moral and educative message. While interpreting this tradition, it is pointed out that actions depend upon intentions. Whether we offer prayers, keep fasts, go on holy pilgrimage or carry out any other action, it has got to be authenticated by right

intentions. This tradition supports the deontological ethical theory. The actions are sanctified by good will or good intention. The action is to be undertaken with a sense of duty and out of pure good will.[129] Another tradition, viz., "Being pleased with the process of securing religious knowledge, the angels spread their wings for the student" quoted in the monthly is interpreted as indicating the high esteem in which Islam holds the attainment of knowledge pertaining to Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, Morality and other such disciplines which contribute to human welfare and education and culture.[130] Yet another tradition quoted in the monthly Nusrat al-Islam underlines the importance of personal morality. The tradition under consideration runs as such ; "Eat, drink, give charity and put on dress till you do not fall into extravagance and pride". While paraphrasing this tradition it is emphasised that man should be moderate in his expenses. He should look after himself and take care of his personal needs and requirements. But he should do so in moderation. Thus Islam has recommended the golden mean in meeting out one's personal needs and it is also recommended that one should not be so obsessed with ones personal needs that one becomes oblivious to the problems of the people around. While meeting out ones' personal requirements, one should take care of other needy people as well and give alms to those who are in need of the same.[131] Another Hadith viz, "If a person is not capable

of submitting his personal problem to the ruler of the times, do intercede on his behalf. A person who can intercede on behalf of helpless to the ruler will be stabilised by God on the bridge of 'Sirat' on the day of judgement"[132], and such other traditions quoted in Nusrat al-Islam indicate that the journal is primarily emphasising traditions with personal moral message. This also indicates that Nusrat al-Islam is primarily interested in the education of the Muslim Mind on Islamic lines.

The Jamat-i-Islami Jammu and Kashmir, a radical organisation advocating an all-round Islamic revolution in Jammu and Kashmir State has been engaged in dissemination of Ilm al-Hadith through its journals and monthly magazines. The official organ of the Jammat, namely, monthly Azan, has been regularly featuring. Dars-i-Hadith in most of its issues. The basic thrust of the Jammat has been to feature and explain those traditions of the prophet that predominently impinge upon our social, political and economic problems and directly or indirectly support the ideological programme of Jammat-i-Islami. For example, the following traditions emphasise the protection of the rights of people, especially the rights of believers :

(a) "A Muslim is one by whose tongue and hands other Muslims are safe and a Mumin is one by whom the blood and property of other people are protected".[133]

(b) "A person who unjustly occupies the land of anyone will be inhumed under seven layers of earth on the day of judgement".[134]

The above traditions pertain to personal and social rights. They have definite political and economic content and are amenable to an ideological interpretation of Islam that can be worked out in terms of Islam being a complete code of conduct, or a message of complete guidance in all spheres of life.

The following tradition as quoted in Azan is again amenable to a totalist interpretation of Islam. In one of the issues of Azan a tradition of the prophet is quoted thus :

"O Muslims, what will be your condition when you will give up the mission of Amar-bil-Maruf (ordering people to do the right) and Nahi-Anil-Munkar (prohibiting people from doing what is wrong)".[135] This tradition is interpreted to mean that Islam is an all-round and comprehensive message of guidance for the entire mankind and Muslims as believers in the message of Islam are duty-bound to protect and propagate the principles and fundamentals of this message of guidance. Islam is a complete code of conduct and Sunnah of the Prophet is one of its primary sources. In the light of the above tradition a Muslim can ill-afford to be confined to or satisfied with personal moral reform or cultivation of

personal rectitude. It is the duty of a Muslim to struggle for comprehensive social, political, economic and cultural reform and not just cultivate a good personal character. The Islamic standards of right and wrong need to be implemented in the wider field of society and in all its spheres of action, for if individual Muslims will just confine themselves to personal character-formation, the wide field will be left open for anti-social elements out there to exploit the leadership vaccuum and accordingly commit all types of crimes and sins. If such a situation is allowed to develop, Muslims will be individually and collectively responsible for the same and accountable to God on this score.[136]

The Azan has also featured such traditions which predict the weakening of the spirit of Islam in times to come and its replacement by pointless formalities. Such traditions are correlated to contemporary times by way of interpretation and analysis. For example the following tradition quoted in Azan is indicative of the same :

"A time will shortly come when Islam will become just a phrase and Quran just a formality. The mosques will be attended to but will not disseminate guidance and will be devoid of spiritual illumination. The scholars (from these mosques) will be naughtiest under the sky. Mischief will spring from amongst them and will return to them as well".[137] This tradition is interpreted to be exactly forecasting our times as our times are alleged to be breft

of spiritual guidance, although many people still offer prayers by way of habit or read Quran as a matter of formality.[138]

In 1983, the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and languages, Srinagar, published a collection of traditions of the prophet(s) entitled Hadis Sharif. The collection is comprised of 311 traditions which have been translated and annotated upon in Kashmiri language by Muhammad Abdullah Tari. It consists of twelve chapters. The first chapter deals with those traditions of the prophet(s) which are related to the foundation of Din i.e. Islamic beliefs; such as belief in oneness of God, belief in prophethood of Muhammad(s), belief in destiny as ordained by God and belief in afterline. The second chapter deals with those traditions of the prophet(s) which deal with believer's perspective on the earthly existence. Traditions of the Prophet regarding the bewitching and misleading potential of the various features of the world have been quoted, translated and explained in this chapter. The third chapter deals with traditions pertaining to Islamic religious education. One of the traditions deals with the spiritual merit of the acquisition of religious knowledge. The second tradition in this chapter deals with the wisdom of reformation of society on Islamic lines. Another tradition in this chapter deals with the necessity of educating one's family members in the world-view and value-system of Islam. Yet

another tradition forbids believers from indulging into quarter-baked discussions regarding religious matters. The last tradition in this chapter deals with the spiritual loss of those who engage in religious scholarship with an eye on worldly benefits. The fourth chapter deals with those traditions of the prophet which pertain to Iqamat-i-Din i.e. establishment of Islamic Order. The first tradition in this chapter deals with the necessity of reviving the true and original Sunnah of the prophet at times when people at large have digressed from the real spirit of Islam. The second tradition quoted in this chapter pertains to the duty of the believer to be always ready to defend Islamic way of life. The fourth tradition quoted in this chapter pertains to waging of war in the way of Allah. The fifth chapter quotes and comments upon those traditions of the prophet that deal with the significance and spiritual value of fundamental religious practices and rituals such as prayer (Namaz), fasting (Saom), charity (Zakat), pilgrimage (Haj), significance of Nafal prayers, recitation of Quran, rememberance of God, etc. The sixth chapter features with those traditions of the prophet(s) which deal with the significance of morals in Islamic way of life. The first tradition quoted in this chapter deals with the relationship between religion and morality. Other traditions pertain to Taquwa (fear of God), righteous livelihood, Tawakul (complete dependence on God), Shukur (Thanks-giving), Sabar (Patience),

self-control, forgiveness, large-heartedness, modesty, dignity, scriousness, forebearance, humility, avoidance of name and fame, frugality, simple living, moderation, perseverence, benevolence, trust-worthiness and honesty. The seventh chapter deals with traditions of the prophet(s) that pertain to disvalues or what man is forbidden from. The traditions quoted in this chapter forbid believers from being self-centric, crazy about popularity, arrogant, miserly, chicken-hearted, selfish, cowardly, transvestic, formal, wasteful, pleasure-centric, hopeless, courageless etc. The eighth chapter contains traditions about righteous living. The traditions pertain to wisdom, experience, purity and cleanliness. Additionally, traditions pertaining to table-manners, dignified talk, purity of speech, happy comportment and general social norms have also been given in this chapter. Two traditions regarding preventive medical measures and hygienic conditions are also included in this chapter. The ninth chapter contains traditions regarding ideal society. In this chapter the traditions regarding the rights of parents and relatives have been explained. Traditions exhorting women to be obedient to their husbands have also been quoted. Traditions exhorting men to accord good treatment to their wives have been given as well. Traditions asking believers to be kind to their children, to treat all children equally judiciously, to treat down-trodden people with kindness, to serve people in

general, to courteously behave with neighbours, to help needy people, to treat prisoners with compassion, to accord due recognition to the poor people, to respect aged persons, to take due care of ones' friends, to be indulgent towards handicapped, to be careful towards forlorn people, to be kind towards orphans, to be good towards ones' servants, to respect the rights of animals and to be kind towards one and all have been quoted and commented upon in this chapter as well. The tenth chapter contains traditions regarding social values. For example, traditions regarding mutual consultation, love, sympathy, amiability, inter-personal relationship and friendship figure in this chapter. The eleventh chapter deals with the problem of social discord. This chapter contains traditions that forbid irresponsible speech, promise-breaking, poking fun at someone, mutual suspicion, fault-finding, calumny, double-standards, jealousy, ill-will, mutual discord, double-speak, tyranny, exploitation, embezzlement, corruption, querrelsomeness, murder, deception, hoarding, forwarding lame-excuses, cultural imitation, polytheism, personality-cult, treating rich and poor according to different norms, immodesty, taking sides with criminals, moral degeneration and seeking wordly pleasures etc.

The twelfth and the last chapter deals with righteous collective organisation. It quotes and

interprets traditions exhorting observance of social code of conduct and discipline. One tradition in this chapter explains as to how far a believer should be obedient. Another tradition forbids such promise-making that violate the limits set by Allah. Traditions pointing out the responsibilities of a head of the Islamic State and of the Islamic State in general have also been explained in this chapter. The qualifications of an Imam (leader of the prayer) have also been pointed out in another tradition.[139]

Thus we see the development of Ilm al-Hadith in Kashmir has started with Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. It continues to be cultivated till date. Various religious organisations are actively engaged in the dissemination and interpretation of Ilm al-Hadith in contemporary Kashmir. It is true that they have their respective ideological angularities and they try to interpret traditions of the prophet in the light of their respective aims and objectives. However, it may be admitted that the scope for ideological interpretation of the traditions of the prophet or for that matter that of the Quranic discourse, has always been there, and such a phenomenon can never be completely stopped. What is important is that the debate or discussion must go on and it goes on.

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Chapter - IV

DEVELOPMENT OF ILM al-FIQH IN KASHMIR

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Historical Overview :

Fiqh enjoys special significance among Islamic sciences. Its scope is wide. It covers almost all aspects of human life, religious, social, economic and political. Although 'Fiqh' originated at a very early period in Islam, it developed during the second and third centuries of the Hijra when four well-known schools of Islamic jurisprudence came into being and their learned jurists contributed to the codification of juridical formulations and postulates. The study of Islamic jurisprudence received much impetus from the efforts of Muslim scholars as well as patronage of the Abbasid caliphs.

The literal meaning of 'Fiqh' is 'understanding'. In more than one place the Quran has used the word 'Fiqh' in its general sense of understanding. In the prophet's time, the term 'Fiqh' was not applied in the legal sense alone but carried a wider meaning covering all aspects of Islam, namely; theological, political, economic and legal. Hence this term signified, not only intellectual understanding but also depth and intensity of faith. It also signified knowledge of the Quran, laws relating to rituals and other general injunctions of Islam.[1]

However, in course of time, the scope of the term Fiqh was gradually narrowed down, and ultimately came to be applied to the legal problems and even simply to legal literature. In legal terminology Fiqh means the science of jurisprudence; a man learned in it is a Faqih (jurist). To jurists Fiqh is the science of legal rules as derived from their particular sources. It further signifies that the science of jurisprudence is acquired from the particular sources of rules. A doctor of jurisprudence must relate rules to their sources by deduction. Every rule must be grounded in the text of the sources of law.[2]

The primary sources of Islamic 'Fiqh' are, (i) Quran and (ii) prophet's(s) sayings and doings. The Quran provides the general framework for Fiqh by outlining an uncompromising monotheistic world-view and an unexceptionable theocentric value-system. Its discourse comprises of historical, philosophical, socio-political, ethical and legal propositions. It does not give us a systematically worked out legal scheme. It rather gives us directive principles of law, wherefrom Fuqaha or doctors of Islamic jurisprudence derive specific legal injunctions. However, the sayings and doings of the prophet(s) serve as specific and concrete examples of what should or should not be done or what is or is not allowed. Prophetic traditions serve as guiding criteria of how Muslims should conduct themselves in their social, political and economic spheres

of action. The actions, decisions, judgements, observations, affirmations, negations and agreements and disagreements of the prophet serve as basic data wherefrom Islamic jurisprudence takes its shape. Even the silences of the prophet(s), at times, have been interpreted by Fuqaha, in specific situations, to allow or disallow certain modes of behaviour or courses of action.[3]

Besides, the Quran and the Sunnah, doctors of Islam have accepted Ijma (consensus) and Qiyas (analogical reasoning) as other two sources of law. If there is a controversial problem, then various doctors of Islam, at least of a particular region, try to arrive at a consensus and decide an issue under consideration accordingly. However, in practice, it has always been difficult, if not impossible, for an assembly of scholars to hammer out a consensus. But the application of Qiyas or analogical reasoning has been widely applied by doctors of all schools of jurisprudence. Qiyas is based on finding parallels and precedents. It means to find out an essential common factor between two similar cases and to apply the rule of one to the other. Apart from ijma and qiyas, the principles of Istihsan (preference) and Istislah (public interest) are also applied, at times, to resolve legal controversies.[4]

However, during the time of the prophet, there was no such science as that of jurisprudence. The prophet did

not devise an inflexible or a rigid system of law. Different and even contradictory laws relating to many problems could be tolerated, as is obvious from the differences of the companions of the prophet after his demise.[5] In course of time, when companions of the prophet were spread out in different parts of the Muslim world, they were approached by the people of their regions regarding various problems. They gave their decisions according to commandments of the prophet and sometimes according to what they understood from the Quran and Sunnah. Sometimes, even the differing interpretations of the Quranic verses led to differing legal deductions on the part of companions of the prophet(s).[6] Sometimes, different prophetic traditions reported by companions of the prophet led to differences of opinion in resolving various problems. The successors of the companions of the prophet were guided by Quranic injunctions, prophetic traditions and opinions expressed by the companions. Furthermore, the successors exercised ijtihad (independent interpretation) by comparing and contrasting various traditions of the prophet reported by companions of the prophet(s). Thus, they were the originators of the science of Fiqh.[7]

During the times of the successors of the companions of the prophet, Iraq, Hijaz and Syria emerged

as three independent centres of Islamic legal thought. In Iraq there were two schools namely Basra and Kufa and in Hijaz Makka and Madina were two well-known centres of legal activity. These jurists of different regions based their decisions and legal verdicts on the opinions and decisions of the companions who lived in their respective places. Thus there arose during the second century of Muslim calender various schools of jurisprudence, all strictly following the letter and the spirit of the Quran and the Sunnah, and yet reflecting variations owing to regional factors and developments.[8] Four of these schools gained wide currency and acceptability in Sunni Muslim lands, viz; Hanafi school, Maliki school, Shafi'i school and Hanbli School. Hereunder, a brief introduction to these four schools seems to be in order :

(1) Nu'man ibn Thabit, popularly known as Imam Abu Hanifah or Imam-Azam was the founder of the Hanafi school of jurisprudence. Born in 699 A.D., in Kufah, he was of the Persian origin. He was initiated in Muslim scholastics and jurisprudence in Kufah under the guidance of Shaykh Hamad Ibn abu Sulayman. Trained in scholasticism and by profession a textile merchant, the Imam displayed extraordinary talent for using rational and logical arguments in the application of Shariah rules to the practical matters of life. He also had an unusual ability to broaden the application of rules by recourse to analogy

(Qiyas) and equity (Istihsan). Thus his school came to be known as the school of the people of Opinion (Ahl al-Ray).[9]

Imam Abu Hanifa was an open-minded jurist. He did not found a school of jurisprudence. For that matter, none of the so-called founders of Islamic schools of law intended to found 'schools' as such. Their followers, later on, quoted them as authorities of Islamic law and, subsequently, the various schools of law emerged in different Muslim lands. Imam Abu Hanifah opined that we can arrive at different juristic conclusions and every one is entitled to his opinion. Only the Quran, Prophet's authentic traditions and Athar of the companions of the prophet have got to be accepted as unquestionable authorities. In deriving legal conclusions from these sources we can differ and arrive at different opinions.[10]

Imam Abu Hanifa's works in jurisprudence were transmitted to us by his pupils, foremost among them being Imam Abu Yusuf, and Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani. Imam Abu-Yusuf (731-798) was appointed chief justice in Baghdad during the caliphate of Harun al-Rashid, with the authority to appoint judges throughout the Abbasid kingdom. He thus had the opportunity to propagate the school of the great Imam. In addition, he enriched it by his collections of fatwasin the course of his judicial functions and by judgements based on traditions which he believed to be authentic.[11]

The credit for recording the jurisprudence of Hanafi school is due to the Imam Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Shaybani (749-804). He distinguished himself in the task of compilling the main books of the school and extracting details particularly those relating to the laws of inheritance. He was famous for the analysis of actual and theoretical cases, wherein he expanded the system of deduction and induction. The books compiled or transmitted on the authority of Imam al-Shaybani finally crystallised in two series, (10) Zahir al-Riwayah (books of primary questions) and (2) al-Nawadir (Rare problems). The later jurists of Hanafi school summarised as well as annotated upon these original compilations. The most popular among these were Al-Hidayah by Burhan al-Din Ali al-Marghinani (d. 1196) and Al-Mukhtasar by Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Quduri (d. 1036).[12]

The Hanafi school started in Iraq. It spread to Central Asia, China, Afghanistan, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, South Asia and other Muslim lands very fastly.

Imam Malik Ibn Anas al-Ashahi is one of the foremost Muslim jurists after whose name Maliki school of jurisprudence originated. He was born in Madinah in 713 A.D. Malik was an accomplished scholar and Madina's great jurist.

Imam Malik was the author of Al-Muwatta on traditions, which he arranged according to the topics of jurisprudence. In his interpretation of the Shariah, Imam

Malik used to rely on the Quran and the traditions. He would accept those traditions which he believed to be authentic even though a particular tradition carried the authority of only one narrator. Imam Malik used to depend also on the practices of the people of Madina and on the sayings of the companions of the prophet. In the absence of explicit tenets, he would have recourse to analogy (Qiyas) and to a source of law unique to his school known as al-Masalih al-Mursalah (public interest).[13]

The pupils of Imam Malik included Muhammad ibn al Hasan al-Shaybani al-Hanafi and Imam al-Shafi, founder of another famous school. Such distinguished philosophers as ibn Rushd and ibn al-Arabi worked out their juristic inductions and deductions in the light of Maliki Fiqh.

The foremost source of Maliki Law is al-Muwatta compiled by Imam Malik himself. Such books as al-Qawanin al-Fiqhiyah Fi Talkhis Madhab al-Malikiyah written by Abu al-Qasim ibn Jazzi (d. 1340) and al-Mukhtasar authored by Sidi Khalil (d. 1559) are other important books of the school. The major reference book of the Maliki school nowadays is al-Mudawwanah, compiled by Asad ibn al-Furat, and later on edited and arranged by Shanun who published it under the name of al-Mudawwanah al-Kubra.[14]

Madina was the birth place of the Maliki school and from their it spread, throughout the Hijaz. It, further spread to Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt,

Sundan, Bahrain, Kuwait and other parts of Muslim world.

Imam Muhammad Ibn Idris al-Shafi, of the Quraysh tribe (the tribe of the prophet) was born in Gaza in the year 767 A.D., and died in Egypt in the year 819 A.D. He visited many lands including the Hijaz, where he was a pupil of Malik ibn Anas, and Iraq where he studied with Muhammad al-Shaybani, a prominent follower of Abu Hanifah. During the early part of his academic career he was a follower of Malik and the people of traditions. However, his journeys and experiences changed his views and led him to begin a school of his own.

Imam al-Shafi was proficient in prophet's traditions and principles of jurisprudence. He was adept at deduction and dialectics, employing penetrating intellect and eloquence. These qualities enabled him to integrate the school of opinion and the school of traditicns and the outcome was a compromise between the Hanafi and the Maliki schools. He would accept the four sources of Law; the Quran, the Sunnah, consensus of opinion and analogy. He would also accept the relevance of Istidlal (deduction), in arriving at juristic judgments. However, he rejected what the Hanafi school called istihsan (preference) and what the Maliki school called al-masalih al-mursalah (public interest).[15]

Imam al-Shafi'i was the first to compile the sources of Law. He also wrote in a systematic way on the origins of jurisprudence in his famous treatise al-Risala. It discusses the text of the Quran and the sunnah, the abrogated versesof the Quran, the obligatory religious observances, the pre-requisites for accepting a tradition, if recounted by a single narrator, consensus of the opinion of jurists, independent interpretation, preference and analogy. However, his most important work that has come down to us is his book al-umm. It is a multi-voluminous compendium wherein al-Shafi covers a wide variety of legal topics.[16]

The Shafi school was, later on, propagated by such eminent scholars as Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi, Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali and Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti among others. The Shafi school is predominent in Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Lebnon, Indonesia, Malaysia and in many parts of Arabia, South Asia and Persia .

The founder of the fourth Sunni school is Imam Abu Abdullah Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who was born in Baghdad in the year 780 A.D. He compiled a major work entitled Musnad al-Imam Ahmad which contains 40,000 traditions of the prophet. Imam ibn Hanbal was renowned for his aversion to opinion (ra'y) and for his adherence to the strict text of the Quran and the traditions. Some authorities on Ilm al-Rijal such as Ibn al-Nadim prefer to include him among

the traditionists (Muhaddithin) rather than among the jurists.

However, Hanbali school is considered among the four original sunni schools of jurisprudence having an independent system of its own. For Imam ibn Hanbal there are five main sources of Law, viz, the text of the Quran, the text of the traditions, the Fatwa of the companions of the prophet, Athar on sayings of the companions of the prophet if they were consistent with Quran and Sunnah, Da'if and Mursal traditions and finally reasoning by analogy.[17]

Among the followers of Ahmad ibn Hanbal are Muwaffaq al-Din ibn Qudamah (d. 1223), the author of one of the greatest books on Islamic jurisprudence, al-Mugheri, Taqiy al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taimiyah (d. 1208), the author of the famous Fatawa, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 1350) and other eminent jurists.

The school was rejuvenated by Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahab, an 18th century (A.D.) reformer of Arabia. With the establishment of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Hanbali Maslak became its official school. Furthermore, the school has followers in Palestine, Syria, Iraq and other countries.

Besides, the above four schools of jurisprudence that still inspire hundreds of millions of followers in Northern Africa, West Asia, Central Asia, South Asia and

South-East Asia, there were several other schools of Islamic jurisprudence that could not flourish and attract followers on a wide scale. For example, schools of jurisprudence formulated and led by Imam Abu 'Amr Abd al-Rahman Ibn Amr al-Awza'i , Da'ud Ibn 'Ali al-Isfahani, popularly known as Abu Sulaiman al-Zahiri and Abu Jafar Muhammad Ibn Jarir al-Tabri, though important in their times, could not withstand the subsequent socio-historical developments. Such schools of jurisprudence became extinct, in course of time.

During the Abbasid caliphate, the science of Fiqh became the most popular among students and scholars of Islam. Its development was not confined to the heartland of Islam but also spread to its peripheries during the medieval period. Such a major periphery was the Delhi sultanate whose Turkish rulers held sway over the best part of the country. The science of Fiqh was initially developed and cultivated by the Ulama of Central Asia who had flocked to Delhi. The ulama were specially interested in the cultivation of Fiqh because of its day-to-day or practical importance. In view of the fact, that Sultans of Delhi appointed scholars as Shaikh al-Islam, Qazi, Muhtasib, Mufti and a host of other functionaries who required a good knowledge and understanding of jurisprudence, the ulama got encouraged to do their best to disseminate the science of Fiqh in India.[18]

The question of the application of Islamic law in India did naturally arise during the rule of Sindh by Arabs. Muhammad b. Qusim did face the problem of governing the early eighth century Sindh society which was overwhelmingly populated by Hindus and Buddhists. Muhammad b. Quasim treated these people as Dhimmis as the jews, Christians and Zoarastrians were treated in Arabia under the caliphate of four rightly-guided caliphs and the then ruling Umayyids.[19]

After Muhammad b. Qasim the administrative policy of the government was not changed. The subsequent control of Sindh and Punjab by Abbasid caliphate did not witness any radical shift in this regard. However, certain prominent scholars of Fiqh are reported to have reached that part of the South Asian sub-continent, foremost among them being Abu Muhammad of Mansoorah who was the judge of Mansoorah and a significant writer. The Ghaznavids also followed the policy of treating Hindus and Buddhists as Dhimmis[20]

After the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, a number of ulama and jurists came from Arabia and Central Asia and settled in India. During the reign of Iltutmish especially a number of ulama came to Delhi as a result of their displacement on the sack of Baghdad by Hulago. These scholars inaugurated a new era of development of Fiqh literature in India.[21]

The Sultans of Delhi took a keen interest in the discussion, dissemination and development of Islamic jurisprudence. They held special assemblies with ulama of their times. The ulama on their part advised sultans or expressed their opinion on their own about different problems of state and society. Some scholars and jurists such as Syed Nuruddin Mubarak Ghaznawi, Asif Kashani, Syed Jalal Bukhari, Shaikh Qutabuddin Munawwar and Abdul Wahab Bukhari et al., are reported to have openly criticised the various sultans of Delhi for their unIslamic practices.[22]

Ghayas al-Din Balban is reported to have been highly encouraging and helpful to ulama displaced from Baghdad and Central Asia. He treated ulama with great respect and provided them the necessary facilities in their pursuit of Islamic jurisprudence. The prominent scholars of this period were Burhan al-Din Bazaz, Siraj al-Din Abu Zafar Sanjri and Jalal al-Din Kashani. It is reported that the first recorded work on Islamic jurisprudence in India was done during this period.[23]

Sultans of Tughlaq dynasty were greatly instrumental in the development and dissemination of Fiqh literature. In Madrasa-i-Firuzshahi and other institutions of Islamic learning during the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq such eminent scholars as Maulana Ahmad Jhanesari, Sadruddin Yaqub, Alim bin Ala al-Hanafi, Abdul Muqtadir Shuraihi etc., taught Islamic Fiqh. Besides, during the

reign of Firozshah Tughlaq such Fatawa works as : Fatawa-i-Firozshahi, Fawaid-i-Firozshahi and Fatawa-i-Tatarkhani were compiled by Sadruddin Yaqub Muzaffar Kirmani, Sharaf bin Muhammad al-Ataf and Alim bin al-Hanafi respectively. The works inspired and encouraged subsequent literature and served as reference works in the resolution of various legal controversies.[24]

By the same period i.e. late 14th century A.D., the valley of Kashmir was fully converted to Islam and the instrumental role in this regard was played by Mir Syed ali Hamadani and his disciples. Hamadani was a prolific writer who wrote various treatises on Islamic sciences. Several of his treatises deal with the problems and issues pertaining as well as germane to Fiqh. Therefore, Hamadani can rightly be regarded as the first scholar of Fiqh in the valley of Kashmir.

SURVEY OF FIQH IN KASHMIR

I. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani

Syed Sharaf al-Din Abdur Rahman, popularly known as Bulbul Shah, was the first preacher of Islam in Kashmir. He hailed from Turkumanistan (Central Asia) and entered the valley of Kashmir during the reign of Suha Deva. He followed the Hanafi school of jurisprudence and accordingly preached Islamic doctrines and practices in the light of Hanafi Maslak about half a century. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani followed him, with the same mission of

converting the people of the valley to Islam. He himself followed Shafi School of jurisprudence. However, in the footsteps of Bulbul Shah, he preached Islamic beliefs and values in keeping with the practices of the Hanafi Maslak. His mission was to convert the people of the valley to Islamic faith, and he successfully transcended the juristic and scholastic controversies indlulged in by the followers of various schools of jurisprudence.[25]

Mir Syed Ali Hamadani also known as Shah Hamdan was a sufi, a theologian, a traditionist, a preacher, a jurist and a scholar of considerable reputation. He was an all-rounder and a versatile personality. In his writings, Shah Hamadan quoted Quranic verses and traditions of the prophet(s) and derived considerable juristic inferences therefrom. He specifically stressed on basic beliefs and values of Islam. As one of the most powerful and successful preachers in Islamic history, he had to stress on fundamentals of Islam. He did not and could not go into the intricate details of Islamic Fiqh. He just outlined the necessary and sufficient conditions of what it means to be a Muslim. For example, in his Zakhirat al-Muluk, he quotes Hadith-i-Jabrael, wherefrom he derives fundamentals of Islam and principles of faith. In the light of Hadith i-Jabreal, Islam can succinetly summarised into five fundamental categories[26]:

1. Reciting Kalima-e-Shahadat from the depths of ones conviction.

2. Namaz

3. Soam (fasting)

4. Zakat (charity)

5. Hajj

The principles of faith are derived from the same tradition of the prophet as well. They are: realisation and recognition of the ultimacy of Allah, Understanding of the significance and role of prophets and messengers of Allah, belief in revealed scriptures, belief in the existence of Angels, belief in the day of judgment and realisation of the fact that good and evil that befall men are from God.[27]

The doctors of Islam agree that the criterion of faith is a believer's inner certification. However faith depends upon the implementation and fulfilment of four conditions; (a) inner authentication, (b) affirmation by tongue, (c) implementation by bodily organs, and (d) faithful following of Sunnah. A person who does not fulfil any of these four conditions is an absolute Kafir, a person who verbalises by his tongue and does not believe from the core of his heart is Munafiq, a person who sincerely affirms by his tongue and means it in his heart but does not perform the prescribed prayers by his bodily organs is Fasik and a person who fulfils the three conditions of faith viz. affirmation by tongue, certification by heart, and performance by bodily organs

but does not completely abide by the sunnah of the prophet is a bidati.[28]

Shah Hamadan has also elaborated the conditions and norms of Namaz (prayer), Saom (fasting) and Zakat (charity). He has quoted various traditions of the prophet in this regard in support of his classifications and categorisations. He has given examples of Kamil Namaz (complete namaz) and Naqis Namaz (incomplete namaz). In this regard, he has enumerated various grades of Tahara (abulation) as well. The grades of saom(fasting) and zakat (charity) have also been outlined by him. In this book he has enumerated seventeen types of Gunah-i-Kabirah (great sins). They are as follows :

a. Shirk or accepting anyone besidels God as protector and helper.
b. Unfailing insistence on committing sins of various kinds.
c. Despairing of the mercy of God.
d. Being carefree about ones' accountability on the day of judgement.
e. Making false statements when called upon to appear as a witness.
f. Implicating a pious man or woman of adultery.
g. Swearing or taking oath of Allah falsely.
h. Practising witchcraft
i. Taking liquor

j. Eating up of the property of an orphan

k. Charging usuary on loans

l. Adultery

m. Sodomy

n. Murdering someone without necessary and sufficient reasons.

o. Stealing

p. Escaping from jihad (holy war) in case Muslims and Kafirs pitted against one another are in the ratio of 1:2 respectively.

q. Disobeying one's parents.[29]

II. Subsequent Development :

Mullah Ahmad Allama was a distinguished Islamic jurist from Central Asia. He came to the valley of Kashmir some years before Shah Hamadan and after Syed Sharaf al-Din. He entered the valley of Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Shahab al-Din Shahmiri. He was immediately appointed Shaikh al-Islam[30] by Sultan shahab al-Din. Mullah Ahmad Allama wrote several books. However, his Al-Fatawa al-Shahabiah after the name of Sultan became highly popular in Kashmir. The book was written with a view to guide the Kings and administrators in Kashmir. This was the first book which laid the foundations of Islamic Fiqh in Kashmir. It was instrumental in the implementation of Islamic laws in the valley and made

Islam a dominant influence on the social and political life of Kashmir.[31]

During the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shahmiri, another scholar from Central Asia, namely, Ahmad Bin Mahmud bin Kamal al-Din al-Samani came to Kashmir. He wrote an Arabic commentary Tanveer al-Siraj on Abul Muhamid Muhammad Bin Abul Rashid al-Sakhawandis Al-Siraji which is a very fine collection on Islamic law of inheritance. He presented it to Sultan Sikandar and the bcok was enthusiastically received by Kashmiri Muslims in general. It introduced the Muslims of Kashmir to study the problems and questions pertaining to inheritance from basic sources of Islamic law authored by great doctors of Islam. Especially it inspired the Muslims of valley to undertake a direct study of the Quran and the Prophet's traditions with a view to have a first hand insight into the law of inheritance.[32]

The well-known historian of Kashmir, Muhammad Azam Didmari reports that Qazi Haider Kashmiri was involved in the team of jurists who prepared the Fatawa Alamgiri.[33] Another historian of Kashmir Ghulam Hasan Shah also supports the same contention and asserts that Qazi Haidar was one of the team members of Fatawa.[34]

Doctors of Islam during the Mughal period of Kashmir history wrote several books on Islamic law, the most famous and popular among them being Al-Fatawa-i-Naqshbandiah. Its' chief compiler was Maulana MOin al-Din

Naqashbandi. Mulla Muhammad Tahir, Maulana Abul Fatah Kaloo, Maulana Muhammad Yusuf, Maulana Ghulam Nabi and Mufti Shaikh Ahmad (all scholars of 11th century Hijra) were also involved in preparing Fatawa-i-Naqashbandiah. Apart from examining various controversial issues, the compilers have also discussed the foundations and principles of Fiqh in this collection.[35]

During 12th century Hijra, Mulla Muhammad Muhsin Kashmiri wrote a Hashia on al-Hidayah.[36] Mufti Abul Wafa Kashmiri wrote a book entitled Kitab al-Fiqh.[37] It is a collection of various contributions and commentaries on Fiqh. A manuscript of this book is available in the Research Library of Srinagar. Mulla Nur Muhammad Kashmiri wrote a commentary on Mulla Abdul Hakim Sialkutis' Tawaziah-wa-Talwiah.[38] Mulla Muhammad Amin Ghani wrote a commentary on Sharah-i-Tahzib.[39] Abul Ibrahim Rafiqui wrote Taliqat (notes) on Jami-al-Saghir of Imam Muhammad al-Shaibani and Al-Iṣhbah-wal-Nazair of Allama Ibn Najeem.[40] Mulla Haidar Pishloo wrote a commentary on Siraji, namely Nur al-Siraj. In this commentary he analysed the problems and questions pertaining to inheritance in the context of Quranic law. He translated the Siraji into Persian verse with a view to make it discernible to students of Islamic Fiqh. Ghulam Hasan Shah mentions that he wrote another book on Fiqh entitled Ghraib al-Raghaib.[41]

Maulana Karimullah bin Khaliullah Kashmiri compiled a volume of Fatawa of Hadrat Shah Abdul Aziz.[42] Mufti Sadar al-Din Azurda wrote a Risala Al-Durul Munzud Fi-Hukmi Imrat al-Mufqud wherein he tried to justify the Hanafi position regarding the remarriage or otherwise of women whose husbands have been Mafqud al-Khabar (untraced) for considerably long periods of time.[43]

A prominent sufi of Kashmir, Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi wrote a Risala entitled Zaruriyah Khurd in Persian verse in which he presented the directives of Sharia pertaining to such themes as, Faraid wazu, Mustahibat-i-wazu, Arkan-i-Namaz, Faraid-i-Ghusul, Sunnat-i-Ghusal, Maujbat-i-Ghusl, Tayammum, Faraid-i-Namaz, Mufsidat-i-Namaz, Makruhat-i-Namaz, Shariat-i-Jumma, Faraid-i-Saom, Nawaqas-i-Saom and Kafara etc.[44]

Another Risala entitled Miftah al-Salat written in Persian, also discusses directives pertaining to Namaz, Taharat, Sunnat, Wajib, Mustahib etc. The dates of the Risala are not known. The Risala has been written by one Shaikh Ahmad Sulaiman and it has been included in the theological syllabi for centuries in Kashmir.[45]

Muhammad Siddiq Hajini wrote a Risala entitled Badaiya Manzum in Kashmiri in which he dealt with questions pertaining to Salat (prayer). The Risala has been written in the early twentieth century and versifies

such themes as Faraid in abulation, conditions of abulation, Ghusal (bath), Tayammum, Haiz-wa-Nafas, Istinja conditions of Namaz, Faraid-i-Namaz, Wajibat-i-Namaz, Sunnati-Namaz, Rakaat-i-Namaz, Namaz-i-Quada, Namaz-i-Vitar, Namaz-i-Jumma, Sadqa, Fitar, Trawih, Namaz-i-Istisqua, Namaz-i-Jinaza, fasting, Makruhat-i-Roza and Aitikaf, etc.[46]

A highly popular book on Fiqh in Kashmiri language entitled Ka'shir Mas'al-i Kitab has been compiled by Maulana Muhammad Hasan Wafai Hanafi Naqashbandi. The book is a house-hold name in Kashmir and most of the people can and do use it as a guide in Sharia matters on their own. The book is based on such authentic Hanafi collections as Shami, Dur al-Mukhtar, Bahar al-Raiq, Marat al-Falah, Jami-al-Rumuz, Fatawa, Alamgiri, Sharah-i-Waqayah and Hidayah, etc.[47]

The questions and problems of Fiqh as encountered in daily life have been given a detailed treatment in this book. It is in question-answer form. It may be termed as Fiqh Made Easy in Kashmiri.

Such questions as what is Pak and Napak, which types of water can be used for abulution, how we should conduct Istinja, what are the conditions of Wazu (abulution), when should we undertake Tayammum and when is shari ghusl wajib have been clearly spelt out.[48] Problems pertaining to the timings of Namaz, Fraiz, Wajibat and

Sunnan regarding Namaz; qualifications of Imam, conditions of the recitation of Quran, issues pertaining to Namaz-i-Jumma, Namaz-i-Mussafir, Namaz-i-Mareez, Makroohat-i-Namaz Mufsidat-i-Namaz, Hadas-i-Namaz, Namaz-i-Qaza, Namaz-i-Tarawih, Namaz-i-id, Sajida-ai-Sahow, Namaz-i-Nawafil, etc. have been answered in a clear and transparent way.[49]

Issues pertaining to Tadfin-i-Maiyat, Takfin-i-Maiyat and Namaz-i-Janaza have also been taken up and lucidly answered in this book.[50] Faraiz, Sunnan conditions, criteria, issues, problems and questions regarding Saom (fasting), zakat Sadqa-e-Fitar, Hajj etc. have also been discussed in this book.[51]

The problems pertaining to marriage have been given a detailed treatment. For example, the issues pertaining to Nikah, Mahar, Muharmat, divorce, Khula, Iddat, etc. have been discussed threadbare. Apart from these main issues scores of miscellaneous matters have also been taken up and clarified in this book.[52]

Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shopiani authored several poetic collections in Kashmiri wherein he outlined the approach, beliefs and attitudes of the followers of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith. In one of his collections entitled Talim-i-Sunnat he has versified in simple Kashmiri the miscellaneous directives of day to day Islamic way of life as derived from Quran and Sunnah. For example, directives regarding Ghusl (Sharia bath) abulution, Masah, Tayammum,

Haid, Namaz, conditions of Namaz, Raku in Namaz, Sjda in Namaz, Zikr after Namaz, Sajad-ai-Sahw, Nawafil, Namaz-i-id, Qaza-i-Namaz, Namaz-i-Mussaffir, Namaz-i-Mariz, Ghusal-i-Maiyat, Takfeen-i-Maiyat, Tajheez-u-Takfeen, Tadfin-i-Maiyat, Shrine - visiting, fasting, norms of fasting, Aitikaf, Zakat, norms of zakat, Sadaq-ai-Fitar, Haj, kinds of Haj etc., have been versified in lucid Kashmiri with a view to popularise Fiqh among common people who could not understand books on Fiqh in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages.[53]

Late Maulana Abdul kabir, Late Maulana Ghulam Rasool of Sopore and Late Maulana Mufti Ghulam Hasan of Sopore wrote a pamphlet entitled Tasarufat-i-al-Salihin fi Umur al-Almin in Urdu in which they tried to justify the loud recitation of Darud-i-Hadhur after prayers, Shaian-lilah, Khatmat, in the name of saints, eating of food in mosques, distribution of food at shrines etc. For example, they argue that as per the traditions quoted in Sahih Bukhari one can take food in mosques.[54] Similarly, they quote such authorities as Imam Ghazali, Imam Razi and Allama Taftazani etc., in support of the Islamic validity of the above practices.[55] They especially quoted Syed Muhammad Amin al-Quadir of Madina, Maulana Muhammad Ishaq of Madina, Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shah of Kashmir, and Maulana Abdul Rashid Madani in support of the validity of the recitation of Shain-lilah. They argue that these

distinguished authorities maintain that there is nothing wrong in invoking the righteousness of men of God in seeking help from God.[56] Another scholar of contemporary Kashmir Maulana Syed Muhammad Hasan Shah Bukhari wrote a tract in which he justified the Islamic validity of recitation of Shain lilah. He has quoted a Fatawa of Allama Muhammad Anwar Shah Kashmiri in support of the same.[57]

The dispensation of justice in the light of Hanafi jurisprudence has been done by Markazi Dar al-Fatwa Srinagar, Kashmir. Its founder was Shaikh al-Islam Khwaja Baha al-Din Farooqi, who was appointed by Mughal emperor Akbar to adjudicate juristic questions in accordance with Fiqh-i-Hanafi in Kashmir. His successors during the reign of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb were his sons and grandsons such as Khwaja Abdullah Farooqi, Khwaja Muhammad Yousuf Farooqi, Khwaja Habib Farooqi and Khwaja Musa Farooqi etc. The son of Khwaja Musa Farooqi was Maulana Khair al-Din Abul Khair Farooqi who was a distinguished Faqih of his times and was included in the team of scholars who compiled Fatawa-i-Alamgiri.[58]

During Afghan period of Kashmir history Maulana Muiz al-Din Farooqi, Shaikh al-Islam Maulana Sa'ad al-Din Sadiq and Shaikh al-Islam Maulana Quam al-Din Farooqi presided over the proceedings of Markazi Dar-al-Fatwa, Srinagar Kashmir. Thereafter, Maulana Quam al-Din's son

Shaikh al-Islam Maulana Nizam al-Din Muhammad Shah Farooqi and grandson Shaikh al-Islam Maulana Quazi Nasir al-Din Muhammad Farooqi carried on the task of adjudicating the problems and conflicts pertaining to marriage, inheritance etc., in accordance with the laws formulated in Hanafi school of jurisprudence. Maulana Quazi Nasir al-Din was designated as Mufti Aazam by the Government of Maharaja Ranbir Singh during his reign in the second half of 19th century Kashmir.

In twentieth century the office of Mufti Aazam was held by the son of Maulana Nasir al-Din Farooqi, namely, Maulana Aziz al-Din Farooqi; the son of Aziz al-Din, namely, Maulana Sharief al-Din Farooqi and the son of Sharief al-Din, namely Maulana Quam al-Din Farooqi. Currently, the son of Maulana Quam al-Din, Maulana Muhammad Bashir al-Din Farooqi, Mufti Aazam Jammu and Kashmir is presiding over the proceedings of Markazi Dar al-Fatwa Jammu and Kashmir and adjudicating controversial matters in accordance with Hanafi law.[59]

III. Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri

Allama Anwar shah Kashmiri was a distinguished Islamic jurist apart from being one of the foremost traditionists of twentieth century. Maulana Abdul Hayy Hasani describes him as one of the accomplished scholars and a great jurist of Hanafi Fiqh.[60] In fact, Allama had undertaken extensive study of Ilm al-Fiqh and was

well-versed in Shafi, Maliki and Hanbli schools of jurisprudence as well.

Muhammad Farooq Bukhari in his book Alllama Anwar Shah Kashmiri opines that Allama Kashmiri had a comprehensive understanding of Islamic sciences and was blessed with a deep understanding of the complexities of Fiqh. He had great ability for reconciliation of various juristic points of view. He understood the spirit of Islamic teachings in its proper perspective and above all he was free from sectarian bias and a jurist of great intellectual honesty.[61] Allama Zahid al-Kausari paid his tribute to Allama Kashmiri's deep understanding and insight into Islamic jurisprudence in these wards : "In diving deep into the debates regarding the prophet's traditions, the Muslim community has not produced a greater jurist after Allama ibn Hammam".[62]

Allama Kashmiri regarded all the four sunni schools of jurisprudence to be equally valid. He thought that every Imam (doctor of Islam or jurist), had arrived at his own juristic inductions and deductions in the light of Quran and prophet's traditions. Therefore, Ijtihad of every school is equally credible. Every Imam has undertaken ijtihad with utmost sincerity and godliness and served the cause of Din with the best of intentions. The essence of Din is one and the same but there is no royal road to its exact verbal determination.[63] Therefore the room for controversy will always be there.

Allama Kashmiri was a large-hearted theologian and he had a moderate and liberal attitude regarding peripheral theological controversies. For example, he responds to the controversy of Rafa-Yaddin with a maturity befitting a highly learned doctor of Islam. He argues that some companions of the prophet(s) practised Rafa-yaddin and others did not, in view of the fact that prophet of Islam sometimes did practise and sometimes abondoned this practice. Therefore, the exponents and opponents of Rifay-yaddin are equally justified in their behaviour and practice. What is crucial is to safeguard the sunnah and what is unimportant is to indulge in pointless controversies.[64]

Allama Kashmiri was committed to the authentication of Fiqh Hanafi in the light of prophets traditions. He once said :

> "I have spent thirty years of my life with a view to satisfy myself as to whether Fiqh Hanafi is corroborated by traditions of the prophet. Thank God, my thirty years labour and research have convinced me that Fiqh Hanafi is not contrary to Hadith. As a matter of fact, if non-hanafi jurists quote any tradition in support of a particular problem, Hanafi's too have a tradition of the same grade in support of their contention regarding the same problem and if Hanafis do not have any tradition in support of a particular contention compelling them to resort to ijtihad, others too do not have any tradition in support of their respective claims".[65]

In case, two opinions of Imam Abu Hanifa regarding any question were reported, he would prefer the opinion

that seemed in conformity with a Sahih Hadith. If a Sahih Hadith regarding the same was not available, he would prefer the opinion that was in consonance with other schools of jurisprudence. In case, such consonance could not be worked out, he would try to reconcile Hanafi school of jurisprudence with other schools. In juristic matters he displayed uncommon depth of vision and breadth of outlook, preferring to eschew avoidable controversies, angular interpretations and hair-spliting argumentation.[66]

Allama Kashmiri opines that when companions of the prophet(s) differ on any issue, their contentions can be true and righteous despite their disagreements. Following in the foot steps of any companion of the prophet is as good as following the sunnah of the prophet. Therefore, no standpoint adopted by any one of the prophet's companions needs to be downgraded by recourse to rationalisations. Such a venture is pointless as well as fruitless. Allama takes similar stand on various juristic issues. For example, he regards practice of Takbeer before initiating of Namaz as preferable or desirable rather than to be an essential precondition of Namaz.[67]

Owing to certain local controversies, when Allama Kashmiri resigned from the rectorship of Darul ulum Deoband, Allama Iqbal requested him to come over to Lahore so that they can together work out a Fiqh for contemporary Muslim world. Well known Islamic scholar Saeed Ahmad

Akbarabadi, formerly Chairman Department of Sunni Theology Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, in his article on Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri, which was later on included in Hayat-i-Anwar quotes Iqbal in this regard as follows :

> "Today the greatest need of Islam is working out of a modern compilation of Fiqh, wherein those thousands of problems of life are put in a correct Islamic perspective which have been thrown up by world's contemporary national and international socio-politico-economic circumstances and conditions. I am fully convinced that such a work can only be together undertaken by me and Shah Sahib. Apart from us both, no other person in Islamic world seems to be competent to accomplish such a great responsibility. I have been deeply involved in studying the nature and origin of these problems for a long time. I shall be presenting these problems to Shah Sahib and he will be responding with their appropriate Islamic solutions. Accordingly, the compilation of modern Fiqh will be accomplished by our mutual cooperation and collaboration".[68]

However, in view of certain unavoidable factors, Allama Kashmiri could not proceed to Lahore. He subsequently went to Dabhail and engaged himself in teaching of prophet's traditions over there.[69]

One of the salient features of Allama Kashmiri's method in arriving at juristic deductions is to collect all relevant traditions of the prophet on a specific issue especially in case where followers of various schools of jurisprudence hold conflicting views. In this regard he would also take help from literature, lexicography and history. If he found any help therefrom in determining the

meaning of the words, as would be acceptable both to commonsense, and intellectual honesty, he would immediately accept it without indulging in any logical and linguistic hairspliting and similarly if a tradition was reported through different chains of narration, he would not confine himself to any one such chain only but instead collect all the chains and prefer the one that was nearest to the objective of the prophet(s). Again where various traditions were reported on a particular issue and apparently were in conflict ... indicating different and varying meanings, all of these were applicable and credible for Allama Kashmiri. He opined that controversies of various Imams in this regard were not to be deemed 'right' or 'wrong' 'allowed' or 'forbidden' but 'preferable' and 'non-preferable'. Even the conflicts among companions of the prophet in this regard were tantamount to the same. Allama would say that if a person acted upon any of these traditions he could not be deemed to be falling outside the pale of his juristic school.[70]

Allama Kashmiri was a follower of Fiqh Hanafi. He deemed himself to be a Muqalid and not a Mujtahid in Fiqh. He was specially enamoured of Fiqh Hanafi and considered it to be exactly derived in the light of prophet's traditions. He was deeply conscious of contemporary social, political and economic complexities and wanted to bring out solutions to these problems in the light of Quran, Prophet's traditions and Athar of the companions of

the prophet. He gives due place to Ijtihad while being of the opinion that Islam cannot be reduced to Fiqh only, and those who think that the whole religion is exhausted in Fiqh only, are clearly off the track.[71] However, ijtihad in the light of contemporary requirements entails a deep study of the vast juristic literature worked out by distinguished Fuquha such as the four Imams and their subsequent interpreters. In view of the fact that ijtihad had been exploited by various contemporary so-called Mujtahidin for their personal and sectarian motivations, Allama warned that we sould exercise utmost restraint in resorting to allowance of ijtihad. In this connection Allama maintains that any action deemed juristically sound by Salf-i-Saliheen should not be subjected to unnecessary controversies. Rather it should be accepted as applicable in multifarous situations that may crop up from time to time.[72]

Allama Kashmiri outlined the frame of reference within which the greatest doctors of Islamic orthodoxy have defined such categories as imam, Kufur, Zandaqa, Irtidad, Khatm-i-Nubuwwat, Ijma, Tawatur, Wahy, Kashf, Ilham, etc. and within which these highly loaded and suggestive words acquire their specific Islamic meaning.

Despite their innovations and angular interpretations, the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian were great sticklers for Namaz, Fasting, Recitation of the

Quran and First Kalima etc. This led to wide-spread confusion amongst common Muslims and especially informed Muslim public opinion. There were serious doubts and hesitations among various sections of Muslims to declare the followers of Mirza as Kafirs or unbelievers. After all, they were Ahl-i-Qiblah and Kalimago (reciters of Kalima, prostrating in prayer towards Kaba). How could they be declared to be Kafirs. To awaken Muslim public opinion, Allama Kashmiri wrote a booklet entitled, Ikfar al-Mulhidin-Fi-Daruriyat-i-Din wherein he tried to show the reality of Kufr and Iman and point out the standard of faith in Islamic discourse. He also tried to demonstrate as to rejection of which beliefs and actions lands us into Kufr and even the mere interpretation of which beliefs has the potential of leading us to Kufr. In this book Allama Kashmiri argues from Quran and prophet's traditions with a view to point out the essence of Iman and Kufr. He also tried to define Ahl-i-Qiblah and Kalimago from the point of view of Islamic Shariah. He forcefully brought out that if interpretation is accepted as an absolute or unlimited principle of justification of any doctrine then nobody can ever be declared to be a Kafir, as everybody would offer some kind of interpretation in support of his contention. The decisive criterion in this regard is that just as rejection of established and universally accepted commandments of Islam or what are called Dururiyat-i-Din clearly leads to Kufr and Irtidad, similarly investing new

meanings to these commandments against the Ijma of the greatest doctors of Islam is also Kufr and Irtidad.[73]

Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri took a leading role in repudiating the tenets of the Ahmadiya sect which was pioneered by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian. The sect emerged in late 19th century and attracted subcontinental attention in the first quarter of 20th century. During the same years Allama Kashmiri had emerged as a leading theologian at Dar al-ulum Deoband. One of his life-long passionate commitments was the repudiation of the mission of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Quadian lock, stock and barrel.[74]

Allama Kashmiri was a leading figure of Islamic orthodoxy. Apart from writing booklets himself against the claims and pronouncements of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, he asked several of his distinguished students to compile pamphlets against the emerging Qadiani Movement. Maulana Syed Murtaza, a colleague of Allama Kashmiri at Deoband, wrote several pamphlets at his behest. Several of his students such as Maulana Muhammad Idris, Maulana Badar Alam, Maulana Mufti Muhammad Shafi et al., also wrote various booklets outlining therein the reasons for the unacceptability of Qadiani innovations. Apart from this, Allama pioneered and conducted several Munazaras (debates) against Qadianis at Gurdaspore, Firozpore, Bahaulpore and several other towns of undivided Punjab.[75]

Allama Kashmiri points out that Islam is not an ancestrial religion like Judaism or Hinduism and none can claim to be a Muslim on these grounds. Islam signifies acceptance of certain beliefs and performance of certain actions. There are certain absolutely necessary beliefs and concensually accepted propositions, which cannot be interpreted away in any manner whatsoever. Any interpretation or interpolation in this regard categorically lands us into Kufr. If a person rejects any established commandment or a directive accepted by the entire Ummah continuously, consistantly and constantly by recourse to Tawatur al-Amal, he is a Kafir his other Islamic actions notwithstanding. For example, Allah has got to be accepted as unique and One, Muhammad(s) has got to be accepted as last of Allah's prophets, we have got to believe in the day of judgement when every body will be rewarded or punished according to actions he has performed in this life etc. Similarly we have to offer Namaz and give Zakat as ordained in the Quran. These beliefs and actions constitute essentials of religion (Dhruriyat-i-Din). If anybody does not accept any one of these items, he can not help being a Kafir. Such a person is categorically a non-Muslim and must be unequivocally declared to be one.[76]

In view of the above arguments, followers of the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian fall clearly outside the pale of Islam. The entire Islamic community has been believing

that Muhammad was the last of the chain of prophets and there will be no new prophetic dispensation, whatsoever, till the day of judgement. Therefore, no Muslim can violate the meaning of universally accepted Islamic belief in the Finality of prophethood of Muhammad and offer arguments in justification of a new prophetic dispensation or forward a new theory of prophethood, thereby demolishing a continuously, consistantly and constantly held belief of Islamic Ummah. Disbelief in the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad is a categorical ground for declaring a self-appointed Muslim to be a non-Muslim. Accordingly, the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian cannot but be declared to be non-Muslims.[77] In fact, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian and his followers further complicate matters by rejecting the Rifa and Nazul of Hadrat Issa (A.S.). Allama Kashmiri points out that the entire Islamic community has continuously, consistently and constantly held Jesus to have ascended up in the heavens and further held that he will descend from there as and when Allah wills. Rejection of belief in the 'ascension' and 'descension' of Jesus, again goes to violate a Mutwatir and is another ground for declaring followers of Mirza Qadiani to be non-Muslims. At the most, they can be given a chance to recent their beliefs and sincerely rejoin the Islamic mainstream. Anyone who returns to the Mutwatir beliefs of Muslim Ummah will, in all good faith, be again accepted as an honourable member

of Islamic community. Otherwise nothing can deter doctors of Islam from declaring him to be a Kafir.[78]

Being Ahl i-Quiblah is no criterion of being a Muslim. Merely turning ones' face towards Kaba or Masjid Bait al-Haram is no proof of one's being a Muslim. At the most, it is a necessary condition for being a Muslim and not a sufficient ground for the same. All those who are, Muslims are Ahl i-Quiblah, but all those who are Ahl-i-Quibalah may not necessarily be Muslims. The Dururiyat-i-Din have got to be accepted and acted upon as accepted by Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jammat. We cannot insert our individual preferences or idiosynrcacies into them, for they can demolish the entire structure of Islamic world-view and value-system.

IV Anjum-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam :

The foremost champion as well as guardian of Hanafi Maslak in contemporary Kashmir is Anjuman-i-Tabligh ul-Islam. It has tenaciously espoused the tenets of mainstream Islam in Kashmir viz. Hanafi Maslak and Sufi Mashrab. It is inspired by the cumulative and inclusive vision of Islam as accepted and historically formulated by Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jama'at.

The Anjuman has played a conformist and traditionalist role in the contemporary history of Islam in kashmir. It strongly propagated against, what it called, the unacceptable renovators and degraded

reinterpreters.[79] The immediate cause of establishing Anjuman itself was to counter the upcoming propaganda carried out by the activitists of Ahmadiya movement as well as what the ideologues of the Anjuman called the non-conformist version of Islam projected by the leaders of Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Jammu and Kashmir.[80] Later on, the Anjuman pitted itself against the nonconformist and theocratic version of Islam carried out by All Jammu and Kashmir Jammat-i-Islami. Thus, the Anjuman started as a corrective trend to counter the radical reinterpretations of nonconformist movements in Kashmir.[81]

The Anjuman struggled to conserve the historical character of Islam in Kashmir. The correct Islamic path in Kashmir, as the Anjuman conceives it, was shown by Syed Abdul Rahman Bulbul Shah, Syed Ali hamadani, Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Shaikh Yaqub Sarai, Baba Dawud Khaki and other Awalia-ullah of Kashmir.[82] The Anjuman believes these personages as the real successors of the sacred mission of the Prophet of Islam(s), his companions, imma-i-Din, Fuqaha and Muhaddithin.[83] The Anjuman deems itself committed to the Islam as exemplified and carried out by Sahaba Kiram (companions of the Prophet Muhammad), Tabi'in (the successors of the companions of the Prophet) and Awlia-i-Kamilin, and reasserts its commitment to the way of life as practised by Salf-i-Salihin.[84]

The self-image of the Anjuman is that of a religious organization which is committed to Hanafi Maslak and Sufi Mashrab. It considers itself committed to a perennial vision and value- system of Islam which transcends the temporal pressures, contemporaneous challenges and day to day politics.[85]

The Anjuman considers itself to be engaged in propagating, projecting and serving what is called pure religion (Din-i-Khalis). It maintain that it strictly follows Quran and example of the Prophet Muhammad(s).[86] Accordingly, it claims to follow the method of leading lights of religion (Buzurgan-i-Din) and friends of God (Awlia-ullah) especially those who followed Hanafi Maslak and Sufi-Mashrab. The Anjuman claims to strictly avoid pointless innovations introduced by other contemporary organisations. It also discourages any so-called critical analysis of righteous doctors and scholars of Islam.[87]

The leaders and prominent members of the Anjuman have been preaching and practising what has been pejoratively termed by leaders of Ahl-i-Hadith as tombworship and Shrine-worship. The leaders of the Anjuman have been found to be presiding over Maulud celebrations and celebration of Gharawein of Pir Dastagir Hadhrat Abdul Quadir Jeelani. They have been practising Shain-lilah *invoking the blessing of Shaikh Abdul Quadir Jeelani* for attaining material well-being as well as spiritual peace.

They have also been conducting Khatamat of Anbia (Prophets), Dastagir, i.e. Syed Abdul Quadir Jilani, and Syed Hamza Makhdum, and leading Fateha-i-Chaharum or Isal-i-Sawab celebrations on the fourth day after the expiry of a Muslim, Chahlum or fortieth day commemoration of a dead person etc. They have also been doling out amulets to persons facing problems of various types, with a view to relieve the person concerned of his difficulties.

They have been active in constructing shrines of saints or renovating the delapidated shrine-structures of medieval saints. These activities on the part of Anjuman have invited the charge of Shirk (polytheism) from the leaders and members of Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith and Jammat-i-Islami. However, the Anjuman has been constantly defending the Islamic validity and soundness of these practices. For example, Maulana Mohammad Qasim Shah Bukhari, the present President of the Anjuman, stoutly rebuts the charge of Shirk being labelled against the Anjuman, Maulana asserts that the Anjuman-i-Tablighul Islam is an organisation that unquestioningly surrenders to the utmost Supremacy and Oneness (Tauhid) of Allah. It neither commits what he calls Shirk-fi-zat i.e. taking a partner of God in His Essence, nor Shirk-fi-Sifat i.e. taking anyone as partner of Allah in His Attributes. The Anjuman also is free from committing Shirk-fi-Amal[88] i.e. doing any action that smacks of polytheism instead of

monotheism. Maulana Bukhari argues that Anjuman surely is committed to Ziarat-i-Qubur or grave-visiting and Fatiha Khwani. However, this is not shirk. This is clearly allowed by the example of the Prophet(s). But Maulana nowhere, points out the validity of Shaih -lilah, Khatamat, celebrating Gharewein, Fatihai-Chaharum and Ghahlum, Amulet-distribution etc., by recourse to the example of prophet, or for that matter that of Imam Abu Hanifa. He keeps mum on these wide-spread practices and innovations (as Ahl-i-Hadith leaders would call them), being presided over by leading figures of Anjuman-i-Tablighul-Islam.

In their 'Provisional Constitution' adopted in January, 1988, the Anjuman-i-Tablighul-Islam has considerably broadened its ideological commitments with renewed zeal and fresh enthusiasm. The Anjuman commits itself to the struggle for the establishment and implementation of a Salih Nizam (righteous system) at the state, national and international levels. The Anjuman commits itself to the righteous way shown by Allah, Muhammad(s) rightly guided four caliphs. Sahaba-i-Kibar (Great companions of the Prophet), Awliay-i-Kiram (highly respectable saints of Islamic History), ulama-i-uzzam (Great Doctors of Islam) and Salf-i-Sulihin (Rightly guided predecessors of our times).

The Anjuman underlines its abiding and firm commitment to one of the cornerstones of the Islamic

belief-structure viz. the Finality of the Prophethood in the person of Muhammad(s). It pledges to work continuously for the preservation of this fundamental belief of Muslims, at the provincial, national and international levels.[89] It will preserve the institution of Finality of Prophethood[90] with all the might and force at its disposal. It pledges to sacrifice everything at its disposal for safeguarding the honour of this institution, and mobilise public opinion, if need arise, for the same. It pledges to cooperate with any school of thought that launches compaign for the preservation of this institution.[91]

Thus, we see, the Anjuman does not stand for any radical reinterpretation of Islamic belief system. It accepts the whole of Islamic history and is especially committed to Hanafi Maslak and Sufi mashrab. Its educational programme is also directed to preserve the juristic inductions and deductions arrived at by Imam Abu Hanifa. It also tries to perpetuate the path shown by Awlia-ullah which it calls Sufi Mashrab.

The Anjuman is pursuing an intensive and extensive educational programme to persuade young people to adopt its interpretation of Islam. The motivating factor behind its academic and scholastic pursuits is an acute perception on the part of Anjuman that Hanafi Maslak the mainstream and mainstay of Muslims in Kashmir is in danger

of being completely lost, if its main features are not highlighted by recourse to a programmatic and methodical educational strategy . The Anjuman feels that certain ideological persuasions are determined to eliminate Hanafi Maslak from the valley.[92] It wants to educate the young boys and girls of Kashmir in accordance with the directives of Quran and sayings of the prophet(s). They should be trained in Ilm al-Hadith and Ilm al-Fiqh. They should be fully exposed to the controversies and conflicting issues raised by doctors of Ilm al-Kalam. They should be made fully aware of the highlights of history and culture, and, simultaneously exposed to the currents and cross-currents of contemporary world-society. Only such students can emerge as great leaders, scholars and doctors of Islam and lead Muslim society in accordance with the fundamentals of Islam as outlined in Quran and Hadith.

In view of the same, the Anjuman has undertaken as educational programme throughout the state of Jammu and Kashmir concentrating mainly in the valley of Kashmir. There are 150 schools sponsored and administered by the Anjuman in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.[93] Apart from Government approved syllabi, the students are given a firm grounding in religious and ethical principles of Islam in these schools. The Anjuman has founded a Hanafi-Arabic college in Srinagar.[94] It has since been recognised by the

University of Kashmir. It teaches courses leading to Maulvi, Maulvi Alim, Maulvi Fazil etc. Besides, the college has various Departments such as Department of Research and writing, Department of Fatwa, Department of Education etc. Apart from this, the Anjuman has been permanently featuring Dars-i-Quran and Dars-i-Hadith, in its monthly journal Al-itiqad, previously brought out as Al-Tabligh. The Anjuman is also in continuous touch with the masses of Kashmir through discourses given at thousands of mosques throughout the state and through organising debates, seminars, conferences etc., wherein thousands participate and keep the flag of Hanafi maslak and Sufi Mashrab flying.

The Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam has established a Dar al-Fatawa wherefrom various questions of Fiqh pertaining to day-to-day life are responded to by a board of scholars. They give their judgement in accordance with the Maslak of Imam Azam, i.e. Imam Abu Hanifah. The questions are usually sent to the board in writing and they mostly publish their judgements in the monthly magazine of the Anjuman, namely Al-Tabligh. The questions usually pertain to Nikah, Talaq, Khula, Inheritance etc. The questions about juristic aspects of Namaz, Saom, Zakat, Haj etc., are also asked to the board which clarifies the same in their published responses in monthly Al-Tabligh. Most of the questions are responded to by the outstanding scholar of Hanafi Fiqh in contemporary Kashmir, Maulana

Muhammad Quasim Shah Bukhari, who is the serving president of Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam, Jammu and Kashmir. The board, has done valuable service in clarifying the controversial issues in contemporary Kashmir.

V. Popular Version and Ahl-i-Hadith :

The Muslims of Kashmir were and are deeply mired into practices, rituals, customs and superstitons that apparently seem to deeply violate the monothestic world-view outlined in the Quran. They mostly followed and continue to follow Hanafi Maslak. The Hanafi theologians, pirs, and preachers mostly encouraged them to undertake practices that are clearly against the categorical injunctions of the Quran and traditions and example of the prophet of Islam(s). For example, the Hanafi Muslims of Kashmir would recite after morning and evening prayers such utterances and statements as ya sheikh Syed Abdul Quadir Shaiun-lilah (O, Sheik Syed Abdul Quadir grant me something for the sake of God), or ya Shaikh Hamza Makhdumi Shaiun-lilah (O, Sheik Hamza Makhdumi, grant me something for the sake of God). They would organise Khatmat of Shaikh Abdul Quadir Jilani, Khwaja Moin al-Din Ajmiri, Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum and other sufi-saints. They would recite such statements as -

"Imdad Khan, Imdad Kun,
Az Bandi Gum Azad kun,
Dar Har Do Alam Shad kun,
ya Ghous-al-Azam pir Ma".

("Do grant us favour, Do grant us favour,
liberate us from the yoke of grief
Make us happy in both the worlds,
O, Ghous-al-Azam, our pir").

Most of the Muslims of the valley would celebrate urus of different saints and sufis, local and also of Central Asian origin. The Shrine of a particular sufi on a particular day would get pompously decorated with great fanfare and people would offer in cash and kind at such celebrations to the Muthwalis of these shrines. Oftn during the nightlong programmes various vocal and instrumental musicians would sing Kashmiri sufi songs or Quawalis. The hard-core among the visitors would prostrate before the graves of these saints or rub their hands and faces with the walls of the shrine ostensibly to garner deeper spiritual favours or even greater material gains. During these celebrations or even at other timings the devotees would conduct Toshas i.e. mix sugar and ghee with hot backed breads and prepare therefrom rounded sweatmeats and distribute them among the people around. This was done to ward off a calamity or seek a favour or just please the saint for the sake of it.

The devotees would often visit the shrines and tie a handkerchief to the trees around the shrine or fix yarn pieces around poles inside the shrine or grilled facade of the grave of the saint. It was again done with a view to seek some favour. When they deemed that the alleged favour was granted or the perceived calamity was warded off, they

would again visit the shrine to untie the handkerchiefs or yarn pieces and mostly tie pieces of cloth or yarn once more for some other required favour or to cast off any other perceived calamity. The long tresses of the babies would be shaven off at these shrines and cocks or rams would be sacrificed at such occasions as an offering to the all-pervading grace and power of the saint.

Most families would follow one or many Pirs. The family Pir was the most revered guest. He would visit his Murids once or twice a year and instruct them orally or initiate them into various spiritual exercises or preside over religious functions and ceremonies such as Khatmat or Toshas. He would write various Taaweez (amulets) which were to be fixed in pieces of cloth and hung around the neck or tied to forearms. These amulets were deemed to be having deep and inscrutable spiritual significance. Sometimes, the ink of these Taaweez or amulets was to be washed off in a bowl of water and water consumed with a view to redress physical and mental grievances. If a woman would not get pregnant in normal course of time, the Pir was specially and specifically asked to write a Taweez with a view to facilitate immediate pregnancy of the woman. For all these favours, the Pir would invariably get handsomely rewarded.

The Muslims of Kashmir undertook other rituals and practices which might offend the sensitivities of a

contemporary puritan. They would loudly recite Darud-i-Hadhur i.e. Sullalah Alaika ya Rasool-ulah Wasalam Aliaka ya Habibullah, meaning "'Gods' blessings be on you O' prophet of God, on you o' Dear one of God" after morning and evening prayers. They would also chorus such stanzas as ya Rasool-allah Be Friyadam Biras meaning"O' prophet of God, attend to my supplications" This direct address to prophet of Islam(s) in second person singular, would offend the susceptibilities of puritanical monotheists who would smell polytheistic ambience in such addresses to prophet of Islam(s). They would take offence and argued for the abrogation of Darud-i-Hadhur altogether from Namaz. Furthermore, rubbing mud from a saint's grave to ones' body, offering rice cooked in milk or ghee at shrines and graveyards, offering flowers at the graves, eating of food inside mosques during various festivals, offering Qahwa and various backery-items in mosques while celebrating the gherawain of Shaikh Abdul Quadir Jilani, celebrating Maulud Shriefs, distributing food and other eatables on the fourth and fortieth day of a deceased person among relatives, neighbours and visitors and similarly offering food and various meat preparations on the first Friday after someone is dead, were and are practices which deeply disturbed the puritanical monotheists.

The above traditional views and doctrines were strongly rebutted by the leaders and followers of Anjum-i-

Ahl-i-Hadith. In the beginning of 20th century, some Kashmiri scholars such as Syed Husain Batkhu and Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shopiani initiatled Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith under the influence of Tehreek-i-Adam-i-Taqleed pioneered by Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal and Mian Nazir Hussain of Delhi in Northern India. The Ahl-i-Hadith Maslak met strong opposition in Srinagar where it was launched by Syed Husain Batkhu. He subsequently shifted to Shopian where his views received considerable welcome and thousands of kashmiri Muslims accepted the point of view sponsored by Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith.

The Ahl-i-Hadith stressed on the right to interpret Quran themselves and, in their estimate, Ahnaf, the followers of Abu Hanifa had given up, in principle, the right to interpret Quran in keeping with the imperatives of the times.

The Ahl-i-Hadith movement led by Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan (1832-1809 A.D.) of Bhopal, Maulana Nazir Husain of Delhi (1805-1902 A.D.) and Maulana Sanaullah Amritsari (1870-1943 A.D.) initiated a great and crucial dialogue with regard to basic beliefs and values of Islam. The movement reached Kashmir and faced the collective mighty opposition of the Maulvis, Muftis and Sufis of Kashmir. The movement in Kashmir was particularly pitted against the age-long rituals, customs, mores, practices and modes of behaviour that cannot be easily integrated

with an authentic world-view of Islam. Kashmiris being prone to natural human propensities, and, especially, unconsciously wedded to the Hindu past, were deeply involved in superstitions and bidat as mentioned above. These practices were strongly opposed by the followers of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, who argued that all these rituals and recitations were polytheistic in nature and militated against the monotheistic world-view outlined in Quran.

The Ahl-i-Hadith unfailingly underlined the need to accept only the original sources incorporating the fundamentals of Islam. They accept Quran as the ultimate source of Islamic laws and norms, dos and donots, values and standards. They accept traditions of the prophet as supplementing the broad vision and overview of Islam projected or outlined in Quran. The prophet's traditions deliver specific guidance in multiple spheres of daily existence. Apart from Quranic injunctions and prophetic traditions they reject all those religious and jurisprudential authorities which have become integral to the historically conditioned Sunni Islam. The four schools of jurisprudence viz. Hanafi, Shafi, Maliki and Hanbali are accordingly repudiated as Taqlid which have no necessary or binding jurisdiction on Muslims, who are free to accept or reject any ruling of four schools in accordance with their independent judgement and reasoning.

When the Anjuman Ahl-i-Hadith was formally launched in Kashmir in 1923, it came as an unpleasant surprise to Hanafi ulama of Kashmir. The Maulvis, Muftis, Pirs and so-called saints of Kashmir declared a virtual war on the leaders and activists of Ahl-i-Hadith movement. They were subjected to bloody physical assaults. A complete social boycott was organised against them. They were turned out of their localities and, worst of all, they were not allowed to offer prayers in Mosques in the valley.[95] The leading Hanafi Muftis of Kashmir co-authored and co-sponsored a Fatwa against Ahl-i-Hadith movement. The main accusations against them were that they practised Rifa-i-Yadain and Amin bil-jahar. The signitories To Fatwa were nine leading Muftis of the valley viz., Mufti Ghulam Mohi al-Din, Nur al-Din Jammi, Mufti Moh al-Din, Mufti Muhammad Yousuf, Mufti Muhammad Ammanullah, Sadr al-Din Jammi, Mufti Muhammad Zia al-Din, Muhammad Sharif al-Din and Mufti Muhammad Quam al-Din. Subsequently, another Fatwa by these Muftis was co-sponsored banning the activists of Ahl-i-Hadith from joining Namaz-i-id at Idgah with fellow Sunni Muslims. Consequent upon the Fatwa, the Ahl-i-Hadith activists were actually, hounded out of the Idgah Srinagar and Masjid Ali-Kadal adjoining the Idgah. The followers of Muftis physically assaulted them and police lathi charged and arrested many of the members owing allegiance to Ahl-i-Hadith persuasion. These Fatwas and consequent

attacks outraged the sensitivities of Ahl-i-Hadith and they filed a case against the Muftis of Kashmir for the violation of their fundamental and religious rights in the court of the City Magistrate Srinagar.

The plaintiffs on behalf of Ahl-i-Hadith and on behalf of their own were as hereunder :

1. Abdul Aziz Chiken, S/o Abdul Samad, R/o Naalbandpora.
2. Muhammad Haji, S/o Abdul Rehman, R/o Kalal Duri
3. Muhammad Ramazan, S/o Mohammad Azim, R/o Bulbul Lanker.

The respondents were as follows :

1.Moulvi Qawam al-Din, S/o Sharif al-Din
2. Sharif al-Din, S/o Aziz al-Din
3. Moulvi Amaanullah, S/o Nur al-Din
4. Mohammad Yousuf, S/o Sadr al-Din, R/o Wazapora
5. Zia al-Din, S/o Sadr al-Din, R/o Fatehkadal
6. Mohi al-Din Shah, S/o Ahad Shah, R/o Fateh Kadal
7. Ghulam Mohi al-Din, R/o Mohallah Jamia Mosque, Srinagar
8. Sadr al-Din, R/o Mohallah Jamia Mosque, Srinagar
9. Nur al-Din, R/o Mohallah Jamia Mosque, Srinagar
10. Hasan Shah Kawoosa, S/o Habib Shah, R/o Ranga Hamam Nowhatta
11. Abdullah Mahajan, S/o Bahar Shah, R/o Rangar Mohalla Nowhatta
12. Naba Joo, S/o Hid Joo, R/o Paandaan Mohalla, Srinagar
13. Maama Mattoo, S/o Habib Mattoo, R/o Kalamdanpora, Srinagar

14. Ahad Shah, S/o Qaari Mahada Shah, R/o Malachi Mir near Aali-Kadal, Srinagar
15. Maama Shah, S/o Qamr al-Din Shah, R/o Surnia Mohallah Kawadara, Srinagar
16. Ama Waiz Khawn Hajam, S/o Khalil Hajam, R/o Malchi Mir, Srinagar
17. Mahadah shah, S/o Shams al-Din, R/o Wazapora, Srinagar.[96]

The plaintiffs contended that the Ahl-i-Hadith are an integral and inalienable part of Ahl-i-Sunnat. The IDGAH is a common place for offering ID prayers by all members of Ahl-i-Sunnat. Therefore, Ahl-i-Hadith activists are fully entitled to offer prayers at IDGAH. The Muftis of Kashmir, actuated by their vested interests have sowed the seeds of discord among the fellow Muslims all of whom are faithful to the fundamentals of Islam. Their Fatwas violate the basic principles of Islam in letter as well as spirit. Therefore, it was pleaded to the court that members of Ahl-i-Hadith movement may be, after appropriate adjudication, decreed to be fully entitled to offer prayers at IDGAH and Muftis of Kashmir may be warned not to declare such Fatwas against Ahl-i-Hadith which provoke the public against them resulting in large scale violation of social, political and religious rights of Ahl-i-Hadith activists. The plaintiffs further pleaded to be allowed to say Amin loudly and adopt the practice of Rafa-i-Yadain while offering prayers.

Maulana Sanaullah Amritsari, Shaikh al-Hadith Maulana Muhammad Ibrahim Sialkoti, Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shopiani, Moulvi Muhammad Hasan of Mirwaiz Family, Srinagar Kashmir etc., argued before the court about the fundamental Islamic soundness of Ahl-i-Hadith persuasion.[97] Mirwaiz Maulana Ahmadullah, Maulvi Muhammad Atiqu-llah, and Moulvi Muhammad Yousuf Shah, gave statements favouring the soundness of Ahl-i-Hadith thesis.[98] After detailed discussions and prolonged legal disputations the court gave its verdict in favour of Ahl-i-Hadith. It was ordered that Ahl-i-Hadith activists cannot and should not be debarred from offering prayers in Hanafi mosques and they were free to continue with their cherished practices such as Amin-bil-Jahar and Rafa-i-Yadain.

The decision in favour of Ahl-i-Hadith gave a tremendous moral boost to the activists of the movement. The activists of Ahl-i-Hadith were now able to propogate their mission courageously. The Zaldegar mosque became the central stronghold wherefrom the fundamental tenets of Ahl-i-Hadith persuasion were forcefully advocated and a powerful movement against such customs and practices as pir-parasti (veneration of saints) and shrine-worship launched.[99]

Ideologically speaking, the Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir like their mainland brethern did not approve of any kind of Taqlid. They accepteld the norms of the life of the

Prophet of Islam(s) as the only standards to be mandatory on Muslims and apparently tried their best to absolutely identify themselves with the example of the Prophet(s). They drew attention to the interschool jurisprudential disagreements among four Mazhabs of Sunni Islam, which as they saw it, had obscured the original sources of Islamic standards viz. the Quran and Hadith. Therefore, the Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir advised the Muslims of Kashmir to directly turn to Hadith and by-pass those who deemed religion equivalent to Fiqh.[100]

Apart from Quran and Hadith the Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir emphasised the significance and relevance of the sources sanctioned in the Quran and Hadith viz. Qiyas and Ijma. Any controversy that could not be directly resolved by recourse to Quran and Hadith can be hammered out by means of Qiyas (reasoning) and Ijma (consensus).

The Ahl-i-Hadith movement in Kashmir raised a strong protest against tomb-worship, grave-worship and over-glorification and veneration of sufis and saints.[101] This was not acceptable to the majority of Sunni Muslims who were the followers of the Hanafi School. Especially, the Maulvis and Muftis of Kashmir were enranged by Maulana Anwar Shah Shopiani's outright repudiation of Saint-worship. The Maulvis and Muftis of Kashmir had acquired complete sway over the minds of simple-minded and credulous Kashmiri masses and had exploited them for centuries viz., the institutions of pir-parasti,

Tomb-worship and saint worship. Batkus' and Shopiani's courageous repudiation of the Islamic validity of these instruments of exploitation was a direct, deliberate and pointed attack on the vested interests of Kashmiri Hanafi ulama. Therefore, the Maulvis and Muftis of Kashmir, who were otherwise at daggers drawn among themselves, were united against the message and mission of Ahl-i-Hadith in Kashmir. They collectively issued Fatwas (decrees) against Ahl-i-Hadith.[102]

The jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith Jammu and Kashmir based their ideology on the second Kalimah :

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمد عبده ورسوله

'We witness that there is no god but God, He/has/no one as His partner, and, we witness that Muhammad (S) is His servant and Messenger'.

The Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir re-affirms the basic Islamic faith that God has revealed His last Book (Quran) on His last Prophet Muhammad(s). He has declared, therein, His oneness and Unity. In this most authentic of the Books, God has qualified Himself with certain attributes and no one in the universe, whosoever, partakes in any of His Attributes in any way. He is the creator of the Earth and the Heavens and whatsoever is apparent or hidden therein. He is the Defacto and Eternal ruler over the entire Being or Existence.[103]

The Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith categorically affirms that no one is a partner in God's Essence or knowledge. Angels, genni and human beings, all are His servants. They are entirely dependent upon His grace. He is the Master and Determiner of profit and loss, good and evil, dos and donots and life and death. None is like Him. He has no relationship with any one. He begetteth not, nor is He begotten. He is innocent of any fall and annihilation. He has no advisor or minister to assist Him.[104]

The Jamiat affirms that God can bring about whatever He wishes to. No one can interfere in His positive or negative directives. If anybody believes that any Nabi or Wali or Qutub or Shaheed or Insan or Jin or Firashta in any way interferes in His positive or negative orders, he is committing the unpardonable sin of Shirk. Only God knows what is hidden from our perceptual experience. Only He is Omnipresent and Omniscient.[105]

The Jamiat considers Shirk (polytheism) an unpardonable sin. Worshipping anyone besides Allah, say, statue, stone, tree, grave, fire, animal, sun, moon, stars or jin, man or angel, is to commit the sin of Shirk. One can worship any one of these natural phenomena, either physically or verbally or financially. In all such forms shirk is a sin and, therefore, prohibited. Similarly, celebrating the Ghairawein of Abdul Quadir Jeelani or Bharawein of Prophet Muhammad(s) is shirk and, therefore,

unacceptable in the light of Islam. In the same way, invoking the help of any one, say, man, angel, prophet or wali is to commit shirk.[106]

Similarly, the Jamiat affirms its unflinching faith in the absolute authenticity of the message and mission of Prophet Muhammad(s). In fact, it categorically re-affirms its faith in the very institution of Prophethood right from Adam upto Prophet Muhammad(s). All the prophets were absolutely authentic and the Books revealed on them are completely inspired by Allah. Prophet Muhammad is the latest and last of the Prophets of Allah, and His mission will continue to inspire believers upto doomsday. The office of the prophethood is closed for all times to come and there will be no new prophetic dispensation, with or without sharia, at any point of time in the remaining period of human history and evolution. Prophet Muhammad(s) is the real intercessor on the day of judgement. It is the bounden duty of every Muslim to submit Drud and Salam on Prophet Muhammad(s) and any one defying this categorical directive of Allah stands condemed as Kafir.[107]

The Jamiat also considers loving and respecting Prophet Muhammad(s) as the religious duty of Muslims as numerous verses in Quran make it obligatory on all believers to accord highest respect and veneration to the Prophet(s). The Jamiat reserves utmost respect for the family members of the Prophet and his pious companions.

The Jamiat is also highly respectful towards 'ulama', Awalia, Muhaddithin, Muffasirin and Mujtahiddin. All Muslims should feel deeply beholden to them for disseminating the principles and tenets of Islam throughout the centuries. However, the Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir, reject the innovations introduced by the Maulvis of Kashmir over the centuries for their personal pecuniary considerations.[108]

The Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir strongly disapprove of Taqlid-i-Shakhsi which entails that every Muslim should completely follow a single Alim in matters pertaining to Islamic law. The Ahl-i-Hadith leaders of Kashmir preached that such an attitude was tantamount to mental and intellectual slavery. The leaders of Ahl-i-Hadith did not entertain the veracity of the spiritual claims of sufis. Therefore, they rejected the validity of the institutionalisation of sufis. They outrightly rejected the sufi practice of prostration before the Shaikh. They repudiated the philosophy of Wahadat al-wujud propounded by Shaikh-i-Akbar Ibn al-Arabi. The Ahl-i-Hadith strongly argued that the philosophy of Wahadat al-wujud negates the very foundations of Quranic world-view viz. monotheism or Tauhid. The Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir mounted a scathing and ruthless attack against the widespread practice among the Ahnaf of Kashmir viz. Shain-lillah, seeking thereby the help of Abdul Qadir Jilani. The Ahnaf of Kashmir led by the institutionalised Maulvis of Kashmir[109] were up

against the leaders and followers of Ahl-i-Hadith for their tirade against the practice of Shain-li-llah. The leaders of Ahl-i-Hadith argued that Shain-li-llah is Islamically unacceptable as neither live nor dead saints have any special or delegated powers to listen to supplicants' needs and fulfil them on their own or through intercession with Allah. Similarly, Ahl-i-Hadith admonished a resounding 'No' to the practice of wasalt (Mediation). They insisted that wasalat can be worked out only by directly worshipping God and acting upon Hadith. This was the only recourse open to achieve nearness (Qurab) to or good pleasure (Raza) of God. Nevertheless, Ahl-i-Hadith of Kashmir did believe in Shafa'at (intercession), with the qualification that Prophet Muhammad would be the only real intercessor on the day of judgement. However, Ahl-i-Hadith did not approve of such practices as Maulud, the urs of the saints and the Qawwalis sung at Khankahs etc.

V. Other issues :

Some of the questions as to the validity of Nikah-i-Shighar, in Kashmir (undiat) were raised in 1950s. There are certain scholars who thought Nikah-i-Shighar to be unacceptable. They qouted certain traditions of the prophet which clearly prohibit Nikah-i-Shighar. Accordingly, Maulvi Abdul Gaffar Nutnusi wrote a Risala entitled Habe al-Matin[110] wherein the argued against the

validity of Nikah-i-Shighar. Another scholar, Abul-Bashir Abdul Gani Shopiani, a prominent advocate of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-hadith advised Muslims against going in for Nikah-i-Shighar in view of the fact that its juristic validity has all along remained controversial in the entire history of Islam.[111]

However, some eminent doctors of Hanafi Maslak took the opposite stand. The then Mufti Aazam, Jammu and Kashmir, Maulana Muhammad Quamm al-Din, in his Fatwa, dated 14th of December, 1959, declared that Nikah-i-Shighar was legal in the light of Quranic commandments, prophet's traditions and juristic inductions of Imam Abu Hanifah. He argued that Nikah-i-Shighar was conducted in pre-Islamic Arabia without fixing any dower (Mahar). However, an undit marriage is solemnised in Muslim societies only after fixing the dower of respective women, its Islamic validity is beyond the pale of cross-examination. Mufti Muhammad Sadar al-Din, Maulana Abdul Ahad Jami, Maulana Ghulam Rasool, Maulana Abdul Kabir, Maulana Abdul Rahman Wafai and Maulana Mahmud Shah Wafai fully accorded with the judgement of the then Mufti-Aazam, Maulana Muhammad Quamm al-Din in this regard.[112]

Maulana Muhammad Quasim Shah Bukhari, a leading theologian of contemporary Kashmir, wrote a detailed response against the Risala Habl al-Matin written by Maulana Abdul Ghaffar Nutnusi. In his monthly journal

Al-Mashriq, Maulana Bukhari argued that the tradition of the prophet of Islam quoted against Nikah-i-Shighar cannot be held against the practice of undiut in vogue in Kashmir. The prophet's tradition did not allow Nikah-i-Shighar as practised in pre-Islamic Arabia. The practice in pre-Islamic Arabia was to exchange two women in marriage by two respective walis without fixing mahar thereof. No consideration was shown to the social status or individual standing of the ladies exchanged in marriage. The exchange was purely motivated by sexual considerations and women bartered in this way had no choice but to follow the authority of Arab customs and traditions. On the other hand, the practice of undiut as in vogue in Kashmir is fully worked out in the light of Quranic injunctions, prophet's traditions and juristic principles. The women are given choice to enter or not to enter into the proposed marital contract, their dower Mahar is fixed in keeping with their economic status and social standing and Niakh-i-Shighar is solemnised perfectly within the limits set by Islamic Shariah.[113]

The controversy among doctors of Islam as to the validity of Nikah-i-Shighar pertains to such a marriage where the Mahar (dower) of the bride is not fixed. In point of fact, the greatest of the authorities of Figh-a-Hanafi such as Allama Shami, Allama Shokani, Imam Qartabi, Allama Sindhi et al., agree that a marriage where two women are exchanged after fixing their dower and in

keeping with other Islamic norms, cannot be subsummed under Nikah-i-Shighar that was clearly and categorically banned by prophet's traditions.[114]

Maulana Qasim Shah Bukhari, quotes traditions from Sahih Muslim and Sahih Bukhari in order to support his contention that undiut as practised in Kashmir is not equivalent to Nikah-i-Shighar referred to in prophet's traditions. The following two prophet's traditions are quoted by Maulana Qasim Shah Bukhari, one from Sahih Muslim and another from Sahih Bukhari.[115]

(a) Imam Muslim says that Yahya bin Yahya reported a prophet's tradition to him, which he had heard from Imam Malik which is his turn he had received from Imam Nafia and Imam Nafia had received it from Hadrat Abdullah bin Umar who had directly received the tradition from prophet of Islam. Hadrat Abdullah bin Umar reports that prophet of Islam forbade Muslims from entering into Nikah-i-Shighar. Then prophet of Islam defined Nikah-i-Shighar in these terms :"Shighar means that a person enters into a contract with another person whereby they exchange their daughters into each others' marriage without fixing Mahar thereof".

(b) The prophet said, "Shighar means that a person marries his daughter to another person on the condition that latter too gives his daughter into the former's marriage and in both marriages there is no fixation of Mahar".[116]

In the light of the above traditions Maulana Qasim Shah Bukhari concludes that the practice of unduit in Kashmir is perfectly within Islamic limits and declaring it illegal under the category of Shighar is unjustified.

The question of the Salat al-Juma at villages or small market-places was widely debated during the 1940s and 1950s of this century in Kashmir. The leading doctors who widely followed Maslak-i-Hanafi in Kashmir were individually and collectively of the opinion that in the light of Maslak-i-Hanafi, the establishment of Salat al-Jumma could not be allowed at small villages and market places. Their contention was that Hanafi school of jurisprudence allows the establishment of Salat al-Juma only at places that are commonly accepted as Qasbat (towns).

On the other hand, certain local ulama, in view of their personal interpretations as well as motivations did start establishment of Juma prayer at places which could not be deemed or defined to be towns. Thus there arose considerable argumentation leading to hairsplitting controversies regarding the juristic justification or otherwise of establishment of Juma prayers. As years passed, Juma prayers were started at villages and this infuriated the leading theologians of Kashmir mainly based at Srinagar. Thus in response to a query as to whether Juma prayers could be established at a particular village

namely Beerwah, now in the revenue district of Badgam, the Srinagar-based Hanafi theologians brought out a Fatwa wherein they categorically stated that Hanafi Maslak could not allow the same. They sent a team of scholars for an on-the-spot inspection of the settelement concerned and on the basis of the report of the team hammered out a judgement in following terms :

The settlement looks like a village, is deemed and defined to be a village and its houses, lanes, shops and huts clearly indicate it to be a village. The total population of the village is about 1500 people. There is no police headquarter, no high school or middle school, no health centre or post-office, no foundry or factory in the village. There are some shops scattered in and around the village. In view of these features of the village, the theologians led by Mufti-Aazam Maulana Muhammad Sharif al-Din and his deputy Mualana Muhammad Quam al-Din categorically stated that Juma prayers could not be established in this village.

The establishment of Juma prayers at such a place was unjustified and uncalled for. Establishment of Juma prayers at such a place was tantamount to Makruh-i-Tahrimi At such places, Muslims are advised to establish Namaz-i-Zuhar as usual and are further categorically warned not to violate the sunnah of the prophet by establishing Salat al-Juma, as such a practice at small villages was not allowed by prophet of Islam. The Fatwa was undersigned

and authenticated by following theologians of Kashmir :

1. Maulana Sharif al-Din, Mufti-Azam, Kashmir.
2. Maulana Quam al-Din, Nabi-i-Mfuti Azam, Kashmir.
3. Maulana Ghulam Mohi al-Din, Khanaqah-i-Muallah, Srinagar
4. Maulana Ghulam Mohi al-Din Jami, Srinagar
5. Maulana Zia al-Din, Srinagar
6. Maulana Sadar al-Din Jami, Srinagar
7. Maulana Ghulam Ahmad Quari, Srinagar.
8. Maulana Syed Mirak Shah Indrabi, Srinagar
9. Maulana Muhammad Hussain Wafai, Srinagar.
10. Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Shah, Mirwaiz, Kashmir.
11. Maulana Ghulam Nabi Hamadani, Srinagar.
12. Maulana Muhammad Sa'adat, Srinagar.
13. Maulana Syed Yousuf Shah, Srinagar.
14. Maulana Nur al-Din Jami, Srinagar.

The upshort of their argument was that prophet of Islam(s) never established Salat al-Juma at villages. Prophet(s) would simply offer Namaz-i-Zuhar as usual on the day of Juma, whenever he happened to be in villages. It is reported in Sahih Bukhari that prophet of Islam once stayed at a village for more than ten days and he did not offer Juma prayer in that village. When he performed his last Hajj known as Hajat al-Wida, he did not offer Juma prayers at Arfat, even in the presence of a large crowd. Even the

pious caliphs and companions of the prophet(s) followed prophet of Islam in letter and spirit in this regard. Therefore, establishing Juma prayers at small villages violates the Sunnah of the prophet. In view of the same, the establishment of Juma prayers at villages is categorically and unequivocally forbidden.[117]

Thus we find that Ilm al-Fiqh is a living phenomenon in Kashmir. Various religious organisations are actively engaged in arriving at their respective juristic inductions and deductions. Theological journals feature articles on Ilm al-Fiqh regularly. In view of the fact that Ilm al-Fiqh accomodates discussions pertaining to basic beliefs and doctrines of Islam, traditional theologians, exponents of Maslak-i-Ahl-i-Hadith and modern intellectuals try to project their own respective viewpoints in arriving at juristic conclusions or devising definitions of beliefs and doctrines. Nevertheless, Ilm al-Fiqh continues to be cultivated in contemporary Kashmir.

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Chapter - V

DEVELOPMENT OF ILM al-TASAWWUF IN KASHMIR

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Historical Overview :

The word 'Tasawwuf' is untranslatable. It is, grammatically speaking, an abstract noun of Arabic language. It can be understood at two levels; the behavioural and the theoretical. From the behavioural or practical point of view 'Tasawwuf' means the sum-total of activities, practices, modes of worship and exercises undertaken by Sufis. From the theoretical point of view 'Tasawwuf' also connotes the ideology and philosophy of Sufis. Its rough English translation may be said to be 'Sufism'.

The word 'Sufi' is reported to have been derived variously. Some scholars derived the word 'Sufi' from 'Safa' (purity), the implicit claim being that sufis were men of purity of character and intentions. Some scholars maintained that the word 'sufi' has been derived from the word 'saff' meaning 'rank', implying thereby that sufis were the men of first rank in view of their spiritual depth and moral stature. Some scholars have tried to derive the word 'Sufi' from 'Ahl-us-suffa', (the people of the Bench), a group of people who lived during Prophet's time and were the earliest to adopt what, later on, came to be known as the sufi way of life. However, most of the scholars of Sufism are inclined to derive the word 'Sufi'

from 'suf' (wool), arguing that they were named 'sufis' because of their habit of wearing woollen clothes.[1] Broadly speaking, the term 'sufi' is applied to Muslim spiritualists who attempt to achieve the development of their intuitive faculties through ascetic exercises, contemplation, renunciation and self-denial.[2]

The sufis generally withdrew from all settled abodes and denied physical pleasures to themselves. They were deeply concerned with the purification of soul, edification of conscience and rectification of conduct.

Abu 'Ali al-Rudhabari on being asked what a sufi is, replied : "One who wears wool over (his) purity, gives his lust the taste of tyranny, and having overthrown the world, journeys in the path-way of the Chosen One"[3] Sahl ibn 'Abdullah al Tustari gave the following answer to the same question "one who is clean of impurity and full of meditation, who is cut off from humanity for God's sake, and in whose eyes gold and mud are equal".[4] Abu al-Husayn al Nuri being asked what Sufism is replied "Abandoning all the portion of the carnal soul".[5] Al Junayed was asked the same question question and said "It is the purification of the heart from associating with created beings, separation from natural characteristics, suppression of human qualities, avoiding the temptations of the carnal soul, taking up the qualities of the spirit, attachment to the sciences of reality, using what is more proper to the

eternal, counselling all the community, being truly faithful to God and following the Prophet according to the law".[6]

Tasawwuf or sufism as a socio-historical institution or ideological phenomenon is a fact of Muslim culture. Sufism has been a dominant ideology and value-system in the annals of Muslim history. However, its adversaries have always doubted its Islamic credentials, especially those who have been inspired by a predominantly theological perspective on Islam viz; the Quranic discourse and traditions of the prophet(s). While there have been theologian-sufis and sufi-theologians throughout the history of Islam, the purists on both sides have always looked askance at one another. While the theologians have labelled the sufis as imposters, the latter have derided the theologians as ulma e-Zahair (apparantists) or Haraf-parast (literalists). While the theologians have emphasised the social, political and legal aspects of the Quran and prophethood of Muhammad, the Sufis have underlined the spiritual, mystical and moral dimensions of Islamic beliefs and values. A detached perusal of the Quranic discourse and prophet's sayings, doings and teachings, however, cannot fully side with either of these rival camps. The Quran projects a holistic world-view and value-system. Prophet also led an integrated life, combining the spiritual, mystical and

moral values with social, political and legal injunctions. However, the sufi and theological camps, throughout their long-drawn-out ideological battle have been selecting and citing favourable verses of the Quran and the traditions of the prophet(s) to buttress their respective claims and standpoints.

While this controversy can never be finally clinched, there are certain verses of the Quran and certain actions and traditions of the prophet(s) which are amenable to sufi or mystical interpretation. Such an interpretation may be said to be providing Islamic justification or rationale for sufi ideology and mode of living. For example, the following verses of the Quran may be cited in support of the sufi claims and mode of living :

> O thou wrapped in the raiment
> Keep vigil the night long, save a little -
> A half thereof, or abate a little thereof or
> add (a little) thereto and chant the Quran
> in measure. For we shall charge thee with a
> word of weight.
>
> Lo the vigil of the night is (a time) when
> impression is more keen and speech more certain.
> Lo thou hast by day a chain of business
> so remember the name of the lord and devote
> thyself with complete devotion -
> Lord of the East and the West,
> there is no God.
>
> Save Him, so choose thou Him alone for
> thy defender.[7]

Again in another chapter Muhammad is reminded :

> So wait patiently (O Muhammad)
> for the lords' decree, for surely thou
> art in our sight, and hymn the praise of

> the lord when thou uprisest, And in the night time also hymn His praise and at the setting of the stars.[8]

The sufis used to be engrossed in contemplation of God throughout their lives. They cultivated poverty and abstinence, patience and repentence and piety and fear of God. Such were the characterising features of their very mode of living or being. They justified such a mode of being with reference to such Quranic verses :

> 'Oh ye who believe! Lo! many of the (Jewish) rabbis and the (christian) monks devour the wealth of mankind wantonly and debar (men) from the way of Allah. They who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah, unto them give tidings (O Muhammad) of a painful doom. On the day when it will (all) be heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their flanks of their backs will be branded therewith (and it will be said unto them) : Here is that which ye hoarded for yourselves. Now taste of what ye asked to hoard.[9]

Or they could quote such Quranic verses as exhorting believers to adopt the sufi way of living :

> Oh ye who believe Seek help with patient perseverance and prayers for God is with those who patiently persevere.[10]

or

> Men who celebrate the praises of God, standing, sitting and lying down on their sides, And contemplate the (wonders of) creation in the heavens and the earth (with the thought) :
>
> "Our lord ! not for naught hast thou created (all) this. Glory to thee ! Give us salvation from the penality of the fire."11

The prophet(s) led an austere and ascetic life. He considered his life of poverty as a source of personal pride. Besides, the prophet(s) did not disapprove of the practising of poverty and self-mortification by Ahl al Suffa or Ashab-i-Suffa (The people of the Bench), a group of companions of the prophet(s) who dwelt in the Madina mosque. The people of the Bench continuously observed prayers and fasting. The prophet(s) himself would observe incessant prayer and fasting. Therefore, subsequently, the sufis might have been inspired by this very example of the prophet and adopted an ascetic mode of existance. Furthermore, sufi intellectuals, especially the proponents of the theory of Wahdat al-Wujud, might have been inspired by a hadith-i-Qudsi indicating that the creation of the universe was an act of self-expression on the part of God. In a well-known Hadith-i-Qudsi, God said to the prophet(s), "I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known, therefore, I made the creation that I might be known".[12]

The companions of the prophet(s), the successors of the companions (Tabin) and successors of the successors (Taba-Tabin), were men of piety who tried to cultivate spiritual inwardness while simultaneously following the injunctions of the Quran and exhortations of the prophet. For example, the four rightly-guided caliphs who were also amongst his foremost companions, were regarded by later sufis to be their examplary forerunners. The fourth

caliph was especially deemed to be the model for sufis, "in respect to the truths of outward expressions and the subtleties of inward meanings, the stripping of one's self of all property either of this world or of the next, and consideration of divine providence".[13]

Hasan of Basrah (d 728), who was companion of the companions of the prophet(s), is generally deemed to have been the first sufi. He is considered to have been initiated into sufi way of life by the fourth caliph Hadhrath Ali himself. Thus, sufis trace their spiritual way of life to prophet(s) of Islam through fourth caliph. However, scholars doubt the authenticity of ancedotes describing Hasan's conversion to sufism by Ali.[14] Hasan of Basrah was a multifaceted personality. He was an outstanding scholar, an eloquent speaker and an exegist. He was also a political activist and actively opposed to Umayyad misrule throughout his life.[15] As a sufi he is famous for his piety, asceticism, fear of God and otherworldliness. He is reported to have said that a little of piety is better than prayer and fasting of thousand years.[16] Abu Hashim of Kufah (d 776) was the first person to have been expressly called sufi. He was famous for his asceticism and piety. For Abu Hashim, inner transformation of the heart was the essence of sufism.[17] Ibrahim bin Adham (d 777) was another notable sufi. He renounced the throne of Bulk for the attainment of the spiritual perfection. He advocated

asceticism, other-worldliness, celibacy and poverty as the hallmarks of a true sufi way of life.[18] Harith Muhasibi (d 857) was another prominent sufi. He was a trained theologian of shafi school of law. He was also the mentor of Junaid of Baghdad. He underlined that salvation could be attained by fearing God, complying with His ordinances and following sunnah of the Prophet(s). Muhasibi defined Maqam (station) and Hal (state) and maintained that station is the particular position which a seeker attains after making necessary efforts and state, on the other hand, is something that man receives through God's grace. Rida (satisfaction) according to Muhasibi, is an attitude of mind which also is bestowed by Divine grace.[19] Rabiah of Basrah (d 801) was a famous woman mystic. She is well-known for her advocacy of disinterested love for God. She believed that God should not be worshipped for fear of punishment or desire of reward.[20] Dhu al-Nun Misri (d 859) was another eminent sufi. He was a profound scholar as well. He distinguished knowledge form certitude (yaqin) and advocated that latter can be attained through intuition.[21] He is also reported to have introduced the idea of gnosis (Marifah) in sufism. According to Dhu al-Nun Misri, the man who knows God best is the one most lost in Him. Wajd (ecstasy) is, in his opinion, the only means of acquiring the knowledge of God.[22] Bayazid of Bistam (d 874), one of the greatest sufis of all time, introduced the doctrine of self-effacement or

self-annihilation.[23]Bayazid also introduced the doctrine of absorption into God. He maintained that unless we work out the total destruction of empirical self in God, we cannot obtain a clue to the divinity.[24] Junaid of Baghdad (d 910) was another distinguished sufi. He has been given highest respect in all sufi quarters and orders and is known as Syed al-Tayyifah (leader of the sufi community).[25] He was most acceptable to theologians as well, for his advocacy of Sobriety (Sahaw) as against intoxication (sukr) in sufi way of life.[26] His apparent behaviour was in perfect consonance with Shariah and his inner state inperfect harmony with the principles of mysticism. Junaid defined a model sufi to be one who walks with the book of Allah in his right hand and Sunnah of the prophet in his left hand.[27] Abu al-Mughith al-Husain bin Mansur (d. 922) popularly known as Al-Hallaj, was another sufi of highest eminence. He is, till date, an internationally and interculturally popular sufi and a cult-figure amongst many sufis. He is most famous for his utterance ana al-Haq (I am the Truth or I am God). He was subsequently executed for his radical and esoteric utterances. However, later on, his high spiritual stature was acknowledged by such eminent sufis as Attar, Rumi, Abdul Quadir Jilani, Syed Ali Hamadani, Makhdum jahaniyan, Gisudaraz, Sheikh Ahmad sirhindi and others.[28] Abu Bakr al-Shibli was another prominent sufi. He was a disciple

of Junaid. He resigned from governorship of Damawand and entered sufi way of life. He underwent intense spiritual exercises and experiences and emerged as a leading sufi of his times. Shibli underlined the importance of self-control and divine grace for attaining spiritual excellence.[29]

The above sufis represented the formative stage of sufism. During this period evolved the basic conceptual framework within which sufi discourse was subsequently conducted. These sufis interpreted the Quran and sunnah of the prophet and developed such doctrines as repentence, abstinence, patience, poverty, humility, fear of God, piety, sincerity, gratitude, trust, satisfaction, certainty, recollection, intimacy, nearness, union, love, detachment, separation, ecstasy, renunciation, hope etc.

In course of time, scholars and sufis with literary gifts started writing treatises on sufism. The earliest treatises written on sufism are reported to have been authored by Abu Said and Abu Muhammad Ja'far. Abu Said (d. 952) wrote Tabaqat al-Nussakand Abu Muhammad Ja'far wrote Hikayat al-Awliya. Both these works have, however, not survived. The earliest existing work on sufism is Kitab al-luma fi al-Tasawwuf. It has been written by Abu Nasr al-Sarraj al-Tusi (d. 988). Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 996) wrote Kitab Qut al-Qulub fi Mu'amalat al Mahbub. It is considered an authoritative commentary on

sufism.[30] Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Kalabadi (d. 988)wrote a lucid exposition of sufi doctrines entitled Kitab al-Ta'ruf li Madhab al-Tasawwuf. Abdu'r Rahman Muhammad al-Sulami of Nishapur (d. 1021) wrote a biographical treatise of sufis known asTabaqat al-Sufiyya. Another book by sulami entitled Haq'iq al-Tafsir brings out a clear account of the sufi understanding of Quranic teachings. Another book entitled Hilyat al-Awliyya wa Tabaqat al-Asfiyya by Hafiz Abu Nu'aim ibn Abdullah (d. 1038) is a highly valuable account of sufi traditions and stories. An authoritative account of sufism was outlined by Abul Qasim Karim al-Qushairi of Nishapur (d. 1072) in his treatise known as Risala.[31]

Abu Hamid Muhammed bin Muhammad Ghazali (d. 1111) was an outstanding sufi as well as an incomparable author. Apart from writing Mishkat al-Anwar and Bidayat al-Hidaya, Ghazalis' greatest contributions to sufi thought have been incorporated into his magnum opus i.e. Ihya al-ulum al-Din It contains a detailed analysis of modes of worship, socio-cultural habits, personal views regarding man's moral and spiritual growth and virtues leading to human salvation.

Ghazali, furthermore, condemned such disvalues as pride, vanity, self-conceit, self-deception, envy, jealousy, anger, malice, covetousness etc. The vice of hypocrisy attracts greatest condemnation from Al-Ghazali

whereas the virtue of patience is accorded the highest status in his scheme of values.[32]

For Ghazali sufi path entailed both intellectual and contemplative activities. Immediate experience of ultimate reality through mystical struggle is at the heart of sufi way of life. However, Ghazali emphasised that sufi path must be complemented by observance of divinely ordained dos and donts and mandatory and superrogatory prayers.[33]

The greatest sufi metaphysician was Ibn al-Arabi (d. 1240). He was a profound writer and an accomplished sufi-poet in Arabic. His famous works al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya and Fusus al-Hikm incorporate one of the greatest metaphysical systems popularly known as Wahdat al-Wujud. His ideas have exercised the most profound influence on the course of Sufism in succeeding centuries. His admiress called him al-Shaikh al-Akbar (The Greateslt Mentor).[34]

According to Ibn al-Arabi, the external world of sensible objects is but a fleeting shadow of the Real i.e. God. The phenomenal world has no being or meaning apart from and independently of God. Reality is one and indivisible. We speak of God and the world, the one and the many, unity and multiplicity and such other terms when we use the language of the senses. It is only through mystical gnosis that absolute unity is revealed to the

seeker. Ibn al-Arabi identifies this unity with the central doctrine of Islam i.e. Tauhid.[35]

Some of the great Persian sufi-poets contributed to the popular acceptability of sufism. Foremost among them were Hakim Abu al-Majid Majdud Ibn Adam Sanai (d. 1130), Farid al-Din Attar (d. 1220) and Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273). They adopted the poetic genre of mathnavi with a view to express sufi insights, themes, norms and values through illustrative fables, anecdotes, proverbs etc. The trend was initiated by Sanai in his famous Mathnavi Hadiqat al-Haqiqah. It was followed by Attar's significant contributions. Apart from his other significant poetic and prose works on Sufism, his Mantiq al-Tayr is the best known Mathnavi on sufism. Jalal al-Din Rumi, following Attar, wrote his Mathnavi-yi Ma'navi. It is a large Mathnavi comprising of six volumes incorporating profound spiritual wisdom.[36]

During the twelfth century a new development was registered in the history of sufism. Very important sufi silsilas or orders such as Qadiri order, Suhrawardi order and Kubravi order were established in this very century. The Naqshbandi order was established in Central Asia during fourteenth century. The Qadiri order was founded by Shaikh Abd al-Qadir Jilani (d. 1166), the Suhrawardi order was founded by Shaikh Shibah al-Din Suhrawardi[37] (d. 1234) the Kubravi order was founded by Shaikh Najmal-Din Kubra[38]

(d. 1221) and Naqshbandi order was founded by Shaikh Baha al-Din Muhammad Naqshband[39] (d. 1389). In India, Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Chishti (d. 1236) founded the chishtiyya order, which became one of the most important sufi orders in centuries to come. Khwaja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235), Khwaja Farid al-Din Ganj Shakar (d. 1265), Khwaja Nizam al-Din Auliya (d. 1325) and Khwaja Nasir al-Din Chargh Dehlvi (d. 1356) belonged to the Chishtiyya order.

These orders established sufism on a firm and organised basis. They gave individual sufis spiritual ancestry and respectability. Each order devised its own method of guidance as well as its own rituals and ceremonies. Despite inter-order differences, all of them emphasised continuous meditation, asceticism, self-control and piety to be the salient features of a true sufi and seeker of Allah.

II. SUFI ORDERS IN KASHMIR

(a) Suharwardi Order

The Suharwardi order was introduced in Kashmir by Syed Sharaf al-Din popularly known as Bulbul Shah. He was a disciple of Shah Ni'mati'ullah Farsi and originally hailed from Central Asia. Some historians are of the opinion that he was a direct disciple of Shaikh Shahab al-Din Suharwardi. He arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Suhadeva (1301-1320). In fact Bulbul Shah inaugurated

the very Muslim era in Kashmir by converting Rinchana Shah to Islam in 1320 AD. His Khanqah in Srinagar now called Bulbul Langar, became the first centre of Sufi way of life in Kashmir.[40]

Another notable Suhrawardi Sufi namely Syed Muhammad Isfahani arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Zainul Abidin (1420-70). He was a disciple of Syed Jalal al-Din Bukhari also known as Makhdum Jahaniyan (1308-84). He lived a life of retirement applying himself to highly severe spiritual exercises. The people referred to him as Janbaz (a person staking his own life). He is burried at Khanpur Baramullah Kashmir.[41]

Another eminent sufi of Suhrawardi order was Syed Ahmad Kirmani. He too belonged to the chain of teachers following Makhdum Jahaniyan. He was initiated into the order by Syed Miyan. He arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Nazuk Shah, who built a Khanqah for him at Narwur in Srinagar. After his death Syed Ahmad Kirmani was burried near Nawhatta Srinagar.[42] Baba Mas'ud also known as Narwur Sahib in Kashmir was a disciple of Syed Ahmad Kirmani. He was burried in the Khanqah of his spiritual master at Narwur in Srinagar.[43]

However, the most important suhrawardi saint who had long-lasting impact on the Sufi tradition of Kashmir was Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, popularly known in Kashmir as Mahbulbul Alam (Beloved of the world). He was the disciple

of Syed Jamal al-Din Bukhari who belonged to the Sufi chain of Mukhdum Jahaniyan. Syed Jamal al-Din had visited Kashmir and stayed there for a period of six months during the first half of the sixteenth century. He initiated Shaikh Hamza into the Suhrawardi order.[44] Shaikh Hamza was born in 1494 A.D. at Tijr, ten km. northwest of Sopore. His father Usman Raina was a patron of learning and helped in the maintenance of the seminary of Shaikh Ismail Kubravi at Srinagar. Shaikh Hamza obtained his early education at this seminary, where Shaikh Fathu'llah, the son of Shaikh Ismail, personally taught him for one year. He learned the Qur'an and its commentary from Maulana Darwesh of the same institution. From Maulana Lutfullah who was a teacher at the Madrasatu'l-Daru'sh-Shifa founded by Sultan Hasan Shah, he studied books on Fiqh and some works of Syed Ali Hamadani.[45]

It is reported that Shaikh Hamza Makhdum during his incessant Zikr would be transported in a state of mystical ecstasy called Sukr and like Bayzed would cry Subhani, Maazama Shani (Glory be to me ! How great is my Majesty).[46] Shaikh Hamza laid great emphasis on Maraquabah (concentration upon God). He exhorted his disciples to control their heart and mind from worldly distractions in order to concentrate on God. Shaikh strongly disapproved of Sama[47] (mystical music). Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum was a strong opponent of Shia beliefs and practices in the

valley and launched a tireless ideological battle against the Shias of Kashmir. Shaikh Hamza died in 1576 A.D. He was buried on the slope of Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar, where in his life-time he used to spend long hours in meditation. His shrine even to this day is an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for many Kashmiri Muslims.[48]

Among the disciples of Shaikh Hamza are mentioned Baba Dawud Khaki, Maulana Shams al-Din Pal, Khwaja Ishaq Qari, Khwaja Hasan Qari and Haidar Tulmuali. Of these the most distinguished was Baba Dawud Khaki. He hailed from the well-known Gana'i family of Kashmir and used Khaki as his pen name.[49]

Baba Dawud was an outstanding scholar of Kashmir during sixteenth century. He authored several books including Rishi Nama, Wirdu'l Muridin and Dastur al-Salikin. The Rishi Nama recounts the biographies of some of the Kashmiri saints and their miracles. The Wirdu'l Muridin is a treatise of 440 verses, glorifying the spiritual achievements and supernatural feats of his preceptor, Shaikh Hamza. Dastural Salikin is a commentary upon the Wirdúl Muridin. It also gives us glimpses of the life and teachings of Shaikh Hamza and of his own. Besides, the traditions of the Prophet(s), Athar of companions of the prophet and sayings of prominent sufis constitute the bulk of this volume.[50]

Baba Dawud Khaki was a man of independent judgement. For example, as against the disapproval of Sama by Suhrawardis and especially Shaikh Hamza, he held that Sama stimulates love when heard within the limits prescribed by Sufi masters.[51] Similarly, he laid great stress on Khilwat-dar-Anjuman and Hosh-dar-Dam, two of the eleven principles of Naqashbandi order and urged the seekers and budding sufis to follow them. Furthermore, he upheld Zikr-i-Khafi (silent remembrance of God) as against Zikr-i-jahr (loud remembrance of God) and believed that the latter was meant for beginners.[52]

Baba Daud Khaki was a firm believer in the institution of pir. He believed that a pir is indispensible if a young seeker is to be initiated in the intricacies of spiritual world. A person who has no pir (preceptor) will be definitely approached by Satan and misguided thereafter. According to Khaki a pir (preceptor) is the deputy of the prophet and therefore most respectable. In view of the same, the disciple should not try to find out the shortcomings of the preceptor.[53]

Baba Daud Khaki died in 1586 A.D., and is buried near the tomb of his spiritual master. Baba Daud Khaki's prominent disciples included Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi, Khwaja Zain al-Din, Khwaja Bayzid, Khwaja Daud Ganai, Khwaja Attar, Khwaja Masood Miyan, Baba Zakir, Khwaja Abdullah Quari, Baba Haji Behram, Peer Baba Yousuf, Shaikh

Hasan Khuihami, Khwaja Mir Yaqub, Khwaja Muhammad Parsa etc.[54] However, Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi was the most prominent of them all.

Baba Nasib al-Din Gazi was a prominent Suhrawardi saint of seventeenth century Kashmir. He was one of the most popular saints of Kashmir and hundreds of people would dine every day at his langer. Therefore, he is also known as Abul Fuqra.[55] He was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian literature and Islamic sciences. He wrote several treatises and books. However most of them are reported to have been lost. Some of his existing works are Tazkirah-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir, Ansab-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir and Nur Namah. These are mainly hagiographical works in which life and teachings of such illustrious saints as Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali, Shaikh Hamza Mukhdum and Baba Daud Khaki have been outlined. The history of Islam in Kashmir starting with Renchna Shah (d. 1323) upto late sixteenth century has also been outlined in these works. Furthermore, Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi, was an accomplished Persian poet. His poetry is mainly invocatory and exhortative.[56]

The prominent disciples of Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi were Baba Haider Charkhi, Baba Daud Mishkwati, Khwaja Shams al-Din Naik, Shaikh Shams al-Din, Baba Shams al-Din, Shaikh Daud Gonai, Shaikh Husain, Shaikh Haidar, Shaikh

Ismail, Shaikh Abdullah Gazaryalli and Khwaja Muhammad Amin Sofi.[57]

Khwaja Daud Mishkwati was the most eminent of Baba Nasib al-Din's disciples and a leading sufi of eighteenth century Kashmir. He is well-known as the author of Asrar al-Abrar, a hagiographical treatise incorporating life, times and spiritual achievements of prominent sufis of Kashmir.[58]

(b) Kubravi Order

The Kubravi order was introduced in Kashmir by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, adoringly referred to as Shah Hamadan in Kashmir. He was mainly instrumental in converting the people of Kashmir to Islam. He was a distinguished theologian and an outstanding sufi. His preachments as well as scores of his treatises and books were thoroughly imbued with sufi approach and doctrines. Therefore, sufi approach to Islam was deeply appropriated by Kashmiri Muslims.

Syed Ali Hamadani preached that a sufi or a seeker attains to highest pinnacle of spiritual enlightment by completely subordinating himself to Divine will entailing continuous prayers and remembrance of God. However, the prayers should not become a formality. A sufi or a seeker must control all his carnal pleasures and even rise above personal requirements. He must give up seven cardinal sins, preparatory to prayerful surrender to God; Bukhl

(Niggardliness) Gusah (anger), Hirce (avarice), Haqad (animosity), shahwat (Lust), Kibr (arrogance) and Hasad (jealousy).[59] Shah Hamadan has also recommended observance of ten rules for a sufi or seeker who aspires to achieve highest spiritual status.

1. Tauba : It signifies a return to God after giving up all sinful and shameful actions. It also signifies a rededication to Allah by ignoring all the hurdles in His way or by flying over, so to say all roadblocks in our commitment to God.

2. Zuhd : It signifies the renunciation of the desire for wealth, and wordly prestiage. The seeker must give up any lurking desire of worldly honour. He must disconnect himself from all mundane contacts. According to Shah Hamadan, the seeker must not only give up quest for worldly splendour, but he must also bracket up even the normal longing of a Muslim for eschatological salvation. He must worship God with complete detachment.

3. Tawakkul : It signifies that the seeker must completely put his trust in Allah and seek sustenance only from Him.

4. Qana'at : It signifies that the seeker should give up indulgence in all carnal pleasures and sustain himself on least possible wherewithal in terms of eatables and drinkables.

5. Uzlat : It signifies that the seeker must cultivate no relationships save with his mentor. He must make least use

of his five senses and control his tongue from uttering indiscretions. He must transcend material, sexual and other such satanic attractions.

6. Zikr : It signifies ceaseless remembrance of God. The seeker must incessantly go on reciting La'illah' illalah. Such a recitation obliterates, all those desires which sustain Nafas-i-ammarah and the seeker is attuned to the inexhaustible splendour of Allah.

7. Tawajjuh : It signifies complete attention towards God and concentration on His Essence and Attributes. The seeker must have only Allah as his object of concentration.

8. Sabr : It signifies giving up all sensual pleasures and undertaking prayers, fastings and other self-controlling exercises with patience and preseverence. It means controlling one's self from indulging in attractions and allurements of the world.

9. Muraqaba : It signifies continuous concentration and contemplation of Allah. The seeker can hope to attain to the beatitude of Allah through unadulterated contemplation on Allah.

10. Riza : It signifies the highest stage in the sufi path. At this stage the seeker is pleased with God and God is pleased with the seeker. It also denotes a condition in which the seeker is always pleased with whatever befalls on him.[60]

Syed Ali Hamadani was both a theologian and a sufi. As a theologian he believed in all the essential doctrines and injunctions outlined in the Quran and tried to abide by the traditions of the prophet(s). He also preached to people within the conceptual framework of Ashrite system of Sunni theology.

However, as a sufi, he believed in various levels of Ma'rifa (Gnosis). There are, at least, three levels of Ma'rifa according to Shah Hamadan. Firstly, there is Ma'rifa-i-ilm i.e. cognitive or conceptual stage. This is the stage at which common people try to attain the right cognition or understanding of the nature of God. This is the stage of faith with some basic conceptual clarification. Secondly, there is Marifa-i-istidilali, i.e., rational or intellectual Gnosis. At this stage the theologians and scholars advance arguments in favour of the existance of God. These arguments are based on their worldly knowledge and wisdom. Thirdly, there is the stage of Marifa-i-mushahada, i.e. spiritual stage. This is the highest stage. At this stage the sufi is completely absorbed in contemplation of God and attains to a certainity that is beyond the ken of verbal translation.[61]

Ma'rifa leads to the love of God. The greater the gnosis of a sufi, the greater his love for God. Love of God is the highest goal of life. It is man's summum Bonum. We may love ourselves, we may love our benefactors, we may

love our heroes and we may love beautiful people. However, all these types of love pale into insignificance in comparison to the love of God welling up from the deeps of a sufis' heart. However, all sufis cannot be at the same stage of love, even if all of them love God. The lovers of God can be classified into four categories; Taliban, Salikan, Muqarraban and Sidiqan. The Taliban or beginners experience their love of God in the world of senses, or alam-i-Nasut. The Salikan or devotees are at an advanced stage of their love for God. They graduate to a higher realm called alm-i-Misal or mystical world or world of similitude. At this stage the sufis experience some aspects of Divine Beauty. The Muqarraban i.e. persons nearer to God are yet at a higher level of experience. They experience love of God in a realm called ailm-i-Malkut or realm of purity or beatitude. At this stage, the sufis begin to experience the reflection of Divine Beauty and also start understanding the nature of ultimate Reality. The Sadiqan are the highest amongst the chosen people i.e. Sufis. They belong to alm-i-Jabrut i.e. spiritual realm. At this stage the Divine Beauty is experienced in its entirety. At this stage the sufi is completely drowned in the sea of unity and achieves fana (annihilation in God).[62]

A treatise entitled Risala-i-Dah Qa'ida by Syed Ali Hamadani is entirely devoted to an exploration of the

method or way to attain spiritual union or Wisal-i-Haqiqi. In this treatise again, various levels of believers and devotees are mentioned according to their paths. The commonly traversed path is termed as rah-i-arbab-i-mu'amlat (the path of those who observe only the external rules of religion). It is the path taken by those who confine themselves to performing of the obligatory duties. A higher path is termed as rah-i-arbab-i-mujahada (path of those who undergo self-mortification). This path is traversed by Abrar or righteous ones. They are also called Muqtasidan (those who follow the middle path) by Syed Ali Hamadani. The travellers of this path primarily address themselves to the task of self-control. The spiritually most fruitful path is traversed by Sa'iran-i-hazrat-i-Samdiat (travellers to the court of the Most High). This is the noblest of all paths. Syed Ali prescribes ten rules to attain to this Spiritual Highway.[63]

After playing an instrumental role in converting people of Kashmir to Islam. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani left Kashmir for Persia in 1384 A.D. While on his way to Persia, he died at Kunar, near Pakhli, a central Asian town, boardering northwestern part of Kashmir. However, his mission was carried on by hundreds of his followers and fellow-missionaries. Some sources estimate that seven hundred Syeds had accompanied Syed Ali to Kashmir.[64] Two of Syed Ali Hamadani's cousins, Syed Taj al-Din and Syed

Husain had visited Kashmir before the arrival of Syed Ali himself. They were involved in propagating doctrines of Islam, even after Syed Ali finally left Kashmir for Persia.[65] Another important sufi and disciple of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani was Syed Kabir Baihaqi. He was appointed by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani himself to look after a mosque and a Khanqah at Srinagar and also to propagate the message of Islam. He is reported to have initiated several sufis in Kubravi order.[66] Mir Syed Jamal al-Din Attai was another disciple of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani, who lived a life of retirement and initiated people into Kubravi order.[67] Another important disciple of Syed Ali Hamadani, who guided the people of Kashmir on the lines of Kubravi order was Pir Haji Muhammad. He was highly respected by the king of Kashmir Sultan Qutb al-Din. The king built a Khanqah for him and granted a revenue for the maintenance of his langr (Alms-house). His Khanqah was the centre of teaching and preaching Islam after Hamadani's departure.[68] Two other important lieutenants of Hamadani, Syed Muhammad Quraish and Syed Abdullah were asked by him to continue teaching Islam at Vijabor. Both of them were actively engaged in converting people to Islam. Syed Rukn al-Din and Syed Fakhar al-Din, two other illustrious disciples of Hamadani were engaged in missionary activities at Avantipora and initiated people into the esoteric and exoteric aspects of Islam. Another eminent disciple of

Hamadani was Syed Kamal al-Din Sani, who settled down at the village of Naidkhai in Central Kashmir. He initiated many people into Kubravi order in and around the area of Naidkhai. Syed Jamal al-Din Muhaddith was another important disciple of Hamadani. He established a Madrasa at Srinagar, where he taught and preached the fundamentals of Islam to people of Kashmir.[69]

Apart from numerous central Asian and Persian disciples of Hamadani, some local Kubravi saints who rose to prominence in fifteenth century Kashmir were Shaikh Sulaiman, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Fathullah Hafiz and Shaikh Ismail. Shaikh Sulaiman was a fourteenth century Kashmiri Hindu who was converted to Islam before the arrival of Shah Hamadan in Kashmir. His son known as Shaikh Ahmad too was converted to Islam and both of them had to leave Kashmir for Samarqand for fear of persecution as the local pundits resented their conversion. They returned to Kashmir along with Shah Hamadan and other saints from central Asia during 1370s. Subsequently, they became the flag-bearers of the Kubravi order. Shaikh Ahmad was a favourite disciple of Shah Hamadan. When Shah Hamadan finally left Kashmir, he appointed Shaikh Ahmad as his Khalifa (successor). Shaikh Ahmad and his father Shaikh Sulaiman initiated numerous Muslims to Kubravi order. After Shaikh Ahmad's death, his son Shaikh Fathullah Hafiz succeeded him as the head of the Kubravi order in Kashmir.

However, the most prominent sufi of Kubravi order at this time was the son of Shaikh Fathullah Hafiz, namely, Shaikh Ismail. Shaikh Ismail was a distinguished sufi and a great theologian. He had founded a seminary and a Khanqah at Koh-i-Maran in Srinagar. Students from central Asia and South Asia did join his seminary. It had a rich library and a hostel attached to it. Students were provided with free boarding and lodging facilities. Shaikh Ismail, the patron of the seminary and head of the Khanqah was subsequently appointed Shaikh al-Islam by Hasan Shah who was ruling Kashmir during the period i.e. from 1472 upto 1484. After Shaikh Ismail's death in 1510 A.D., Baba Ali Najar was appointed as head of the Kubravi order in Kashmir. Subsequently, Baba Ali Najar was converted to Shiaism by Mir Shams al-Din Iraqi and the Kubravi order was headed by Shaikh Ismail's son, Shaikh Fathullah Sani. Due to unfavourable political circumstances, Shaikh Fathullah Sani had to leave Kashmir and settle at Sialkot where he became famous as Fathullah Haqqani. The Kubravi Khanqah at Srinagar was abandoned in course of time.[70]

After Shah Hamadan, another significant preacher of central Asian origin who came to Kashmir was his own son Mir Muhammad Hamadani (d. 1450). He arrived in Kashmir in 1393 i.e. during the reign of Sultan Sikandar who ruled from 1389 upto 1413. He is supposed to have given a fundamentalist orientation to Sultan Sikandar's

administration because of which the non-Muslim population of Kashmir had to undergo a period of deep uncertainty. He converted a high ranking Hindu official of Sultan namely Suha Bhatta to Islam who is said to have played a vital role in converting Kashmiri Hindus to Islam in years to come.[71]

Mir Muhammad had a deep impact on Sultan Sikandar who built a Khanqah for him at Fateh-Kadal in Srinagar. However, Mir Muhammad, in view of his youthful years perhaps, seems not to have had too much love for a sufi way of life. Nevertheless, some of his companions and disciples carried on the Kubravi tradition in Kashmir after Mir Muhammad's departure in 1405 A.D. Some prominent Kubravi saints who remained in Kashmir and initiated people to Kubravi order were Syed Husain Shirazi, Syed Ahmad Samanani, Syed Muhammad, Syed Sadr al-Din, Syed Husain Khawarzmi, Syed Nur al-Din, Syed Jamal al-Din Bukhari, Syed Muhammad Madani, Syed Alla al-Din Bukhari and Syed Fakhr al-Din.[72] Another Kubravi saint of great significance was Syed Muhammad Hisari who led an ascetic life during early fifteenth century Kashmir. He was instrumental in initiating many people to Kubravi order. However, he had reached Kashmir from Hisar and was apparently leading his disciples independent of Mir Muhammad.[73] Another prominent Kubravi saint of fifteenth century was Shaikh Baha al-Din popularly known as

Ganjbakhash. He was a disciple of Khwaja Ishaq Khatlani. He is reported to have enjoyed great esteem among people of Kashmir in fifteenth century. Sultan Zain al-Abidin and his wife Baihaqi Begum too were his disciples. He turned a Majzub in his later years and died in suspicious circumstances. His grave at Srinagar is known as Mazar-i-Ganjbakhash.[74]

Another celebrated Kubravi saint of Kashmir was Shaikh Yaqub Sarafi. He was born at Srinagar in 1521 and died in 1595. He was a brilliant scholar and had memorised the Quran at the young age of seven. He started composing verses in Persian at a very early age. He received his early education from such accomplished scholars of 16th century Kashmir as Maulana Basir and Maulana Ani. Later on, he visited South Asia, Persia and Central Asia. At Samarqand, he was initiated into the Kubravi order by Makhdum Kamal al-Din of Khwarazm. In course of his pilgrimage to Mecca, he joined the seminary of Ibn Hajr Usqulani (d. 1567), where he sharpened his knowledge of the Quranic commentary and traditions of the prophet.[75]

Sarfi wrote several books, on the Quran and traditions of the prophet(s). However his Risala-i-Zakraya and Diwan (a collection of his Persian Ghazals and rubbaiyat) contain his sufi thoughts and general orientation towards sufi world-view and way of life. In his Risala-i-Zikraya, he says that God is light and those

who are not able to perceive Him are like bats. The bats cannot see anything in the sunshine only because of their own visual deficiency, and the sun cannot be blamed for it. The Beauty and Perfection of the Divine Light, he maintains, are reflected in the heart of the seeker, provided it is free from the rust of worldly desires and lust for worldly possessions. He asserts that the seeker must incessantly remain devoteld to the attainment of the vision of the Divine Beauty. Only thus can he liberate himself from the demands of his lower self. Concentration upon the real object (Allah) can be achieved through zikr. A sincere devotee engrossed in Zikr cannot but deeply yearn for the ultimate union. Zikr removes all distractions and impediments, which lead men to turn to objects other than God.[76]

Sarfis' reflections on the significance of Zikr are mainly inspired by the writings of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani. He is also influenced by the views of Alla al-Din Simnani and the distinguished Central Asian Naqashbandi saint Khwaja Ubaidullah Ahrar. He also quotes the Fusus al-Hikam of Ibn al-Arabi while underlining the role of Zikr in the sufi way of life. Zikr may be performed loudly or silently according to Sarfi. It depends upon the situations and circumstances. What is important is the sincerity and authenticity of the seeker, not the high or low pitch of the recitation. However,

Sarfi concedes that for a truly deep mystical experience Muraqaba or meditation may be deemed to be a better method than the loud recitation of the names of Allah and verses of the Quran. He quotes Qushairi and Attar in support of his preference for silent zikr.[77]

The dominant theme of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi's poetry is mystical love. He proudly professes himself to be a Kafir of Ishq (Divine Love). He deeply yearns to consume himself in the fire of love. His love for worldly idols i.e. beautiful women as expressed in his poetry, is symbolic of his love for God and he looks askance at theologically-oriented charlatans who find fault with his poetic figures of speech and cannot grasp the reality behind the stylistic appearances.[78]

The verses of Sarfi also show that he was an ardent follower of Wahdat al-wujud and he describes it boldly in poetic lines as hereunder :

> "O, Sarfi ! What benefit are you going to gain from the pilgrimage,
> If Kaba, temple and tavern do not mean the same to you".
>
> .....
>
> "O Sarfi ! as on every side a ray has fallen from His face to light the night, impossible it is for you to say that somnath has not the Kaba's light".
>
> .....
>
> "I see that comely face manifest in whatever I regard,
> Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors in all that one face is manifest".[79]

The subsequent prominent Kubravi saints of 17th and 18th century Kashmir were Shaikh Musa Kubravi[80], Baba Abdul Nabi Kubravi[81], Khwaja Abdul Razaq Kubravi[82], Shaikh Abdul Rahim Kubravi[83] and Baba Abdul Baqi Kubravi.[84]

(c) Naqashbandi Order :

The Naqashbandi order was introduced in Kashmir by Syed Hilal. He arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan sikander (1389-1413). He is said to have been a direct disciple of Khwaja Bahau'd Din Muhammad Naqashband. Some historians maintain that Syed Hilal, later on, shifted to Kubravi order possibly under the influence of Mir Muhammad Hamadani.[85] He died in 1457 A.D., at the village of Asham and is burried there.[86] syed Hilal initiated Mir Syed Amin Baihaqi, the second son of Syed Husain Baihaqi or Mantiqi and adopted son of the wife of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, who emerged as an outstanding scholar and sufi of the fifteenth century.[87] He was also known as Waisi Sahib. It appears that he was convinced of the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud as is indicated by his sufi poetry of high quality. For example, the following cuplets from him bear it out :

"Do not scorn infidelity
To those who have found out truth
It is not different from faith".

.....

"To an arif the differences between the mosque and temple are meaningless.
Men endowed with spiritual eminence find both good and evil identical".

.....

"I want wisal, I do not want either this world or the other
I worship God, I do not worship houses or walls".

.....

"If you ask waisi about religion or sect
He leads the worshippers of God with the religion of love".

.....

"The world and the men of the world are endowed with the essence of the Eternal,
If you look deeply (you) will find every thing in the human being".

.....

"The entire universe is with me
My abode is beyond (the mystical) state of Lamakan".

.....

"O! alim ! my body is (itself a) universe
know ! the soul of universe is my soul".[88]

Syed Amin either did not enrol disciples or left no follower worthy of mention. However, the Naqashbandi order was revived by Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqashbandi who arrived in Kashmir from Samarqand at the end of sixteenth century. He was a prominent Naqashbandi saint who left his mark on the Muslim culture of Kashmir. He made Srinagar a centre of Naqashbandi order. The local population as well as Mughal officers became his disciples. Even theologians of early seventeenth century vied with one another in becoming Khwaja's disciples. Thus due to Khwaja's impact Naqashbandi order became very popular during early seventeenth century in Kashmir. However, historians report that in the then ongoing Shia-Sunni conflict in Kashmir, he sided with sunni orthodoxy and thus became politically

controversial. In view of the same, Khwaja had to leave Srinagar for Lahore in his old age where he died in 1642 AD, and was burried there.[89]

Khwaja had many disciples and dozens of Khalifas. His sons were also involved in initiating people into Naqashbandi order. The most prominent amongst his sons was Khwaja Moin al-Din Naqashbandi. He was trained in the formal religious sciences by Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dehlvi and was initiated into Naqashbandi order by his father, Khwaja Mahmud himself. After his father's departure from Kashmir, Khwaja Moin al-Din Naqashbandi was permitted to remain in Srinagar, were he was in charge of his father's disciples.[90]

Khwaja Moin al-Din Naqshbandi was a trained theologian and an accomplished Sufi. He wrote several books which mainly dealt with legal questions. However, he also wrote several hagiological tracts. His Mirat-i-Taiyiba is a detailed account of his father's achievements. Another book entitled Kanzu's sa'adat incorporates a Naqshbandi perspective on the question of political power. This work is mainly inspired by Zakhirat al-muluk by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani·Khwaja Moin al-Din died in 1674 A.D.[91]

The prominent 18th century Naqshbandi saints among others were Khwaja Ahmad Naqshbandi[92], Shaikh Muhammad Murad Naqshbandi[93], Khwaja Abdullah Naqashbandi[94] and Khwaja Aftab Naqshbandi.[95]

(d) Qadiri Order :

The Qadiri order was founded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani of Bhagdad (d. 1166). It was introduced in Kashmir in the second half of the 16th century by Syed Nimatu'llah Shah Qadiri.[96] His disciple Shaikh Mirak Mir further consolidated the order in the valley.[97] Another Qadiri saint of eminance who came to Kashmir in 1581 A.D. was Syed Ismail Shami.[98] He had a close relationship with Baba Dawud Khaki. However he did not stay for long in Kashmir and initiated Mir Nazuk Niyazi to the Qadiri order, who continued the tradition later on.[99] After Mir Nazuk's death in 1614 A.D. his Khanqah at Khanyar Srinagar was taken up by his eldest son Mir Yousuf. He had received his education and initiation into the Qadiri order by his father. He was succeeded by Mir Muhammad Ali, the third son of Mir Nazuk. In course of time Qadiri order became very popular in Kashmir.[100]

Shaikh Ahmad Qadiri, Khwaja Hasan Qadiri, Khwaja Ishaq Qadiri, Hajji Qadiri, Baba Usman Qadiri and Shah Muhammad Fazil Qadiri are reported to have been some other leading Qadiri saints of Kashmir during seventeenth century.[101]

Khwaja Abdul Rahim Qadiri[102], Baba Ismail Qadiri[103], Khwaja Abdul Rashid Qadiri[104], Khwaja Baqi Qadiri[105], Mir Abdul Fatah Qadiri[106], Mir Muhammad Hashim Qadiri[107], Khwaja Abdul Wahab Qadiri[108], Mir Sharaf al-Din

Qadiri[109], Shaikh Abdul Latif Kaul Qadiri[110], and Shaikh Abdul Sabur Qadiri[111] were some of the eminent 18th century Qadiri saints of Kashmir.

III. SHAIKH NUR AL-DIN WALI

Suhrawardi, Kubravi, Naqshbandi and Qadiri orders were introduced in Kashmir by Persian, Central Asian and sub-continental saints, However in early fifteenth century there arose in the valley an indigenous order known as Rishi order. It developed amidst the traditions of Buddhist renunciation and Hindu asceticism. In fact, the very term rishi is derived from Sanskrit language. In the Rig-veda the term Rishi is used in the sense of a singer of sacred hymans. Later, it came to mean a legendary sage. In general, it signifies an ascetic of high moral and spiritual reputation.[112]

The Hindu Rishis had been conducting their rituals and practices and undertaking spiritual exercises in Pre-Islamic Kashmir for thousands of years. However, with the advent of Islam in early fourteenth century, the cultural scenario of Kashmir did take a drastic turn. A new religious worldview and value-system inspired a synthetic outlook or a new world-view. Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali (1377-1438) also known as Nund Rishi and respectfully referred to as Alamdar-i-Kashmir, arguably the greatest saint of Kashmir, was the finest representative and exponent of Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis in Kashmir. He

founded the Muslim Rishi order of Kashmir by grafting elements of value from ancient traditions of Rishis upon the beliefs and values of Islam.

Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali is a representative of Kashmiri ethos, culture, tradition and spirituality. He draws from the local Rishi tradition. He is deeply inspired by Lalla-Ded, a 14th century Shaivate mystic and a senior contemporary of Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali. Shaikh does not seem to have been inspired by Suharwardi, Kubravi, Qadiri and Naqshbandi sufi saints, who had migrated from Central Asia into the valley in considerable numbers. His meetings with Syed Husain Semnani and Mir Muhammad Hamadani seem to have had been casual exchanges rather than having led to deep spiritual cross-fertilisation. The Shaikh was not a scholar of Islamic sciences and Arabic and Persian literature. He was a simple man, an honest and authentic spiritual seeker.

Ideologically, Shaikh is an authentic Muslim, but methodologically he may be said to have devised his own norms of arriving at mystical inductions and deductions. Thus, he may be said to be representating the synthesis of Indo-islamic spiritual exchange at its best.

Prof. A.Q. Rafiqi brings out the same as hereunder :

> "While Nur al-Din was influenced by Lalla, her influence did not make him a Hindu saint in the guise of a Muslim Rishi. His sayings show that he believed in the fundamental principles of Islam - the unity of God, the day of Judgement and reward and punishment.

> He differed from other Kashmiri sufis in ignoring orthodoxy, while still emphasizing the traditional sufi path of devotion. To him not mere ritual observances, but love, sincerity, a humane outlook, and above all personal piety were the basis of religion".[113]

For Nur al-Din God is All-Pervading, All-Powerful and All-Merciful. The space-Time continuum is permeated by Him, and yet He is above it. He is both Immanent and Trascendent. He is All-knowing and all human knowledge emanates from His Being. All branches of Knowledge are nothing but a commentary upon the prime proclamation of Muslim faith, viz. La'illaha-Illalah (There is no God but Allah).[114]

Therefore, an authentic search for Allah is the Supreme Goal of a seeker. However, God is not to be found somewhere over and above us. He is to be found in the deeps of our own recesses. Self-realisation is God realisation :

> "When I was able to recognise my ownself, I was able to recognise God, both loss and gain became identical to me and the distinction between life and death disappeared".[115]

One of the recurrent themes of Nur al-Din's ideology is an emphasis on man's absolute dependence on God. Absolute Trust in God is indispensible in a seeker's spiritual endeavour. Nothing can be achieved without His grace. It is reported that when his mother asked him as to how he was going to provide for his family, the Shaikh replied :

> "Bread is provided by God and trades and professions are only one of the means of getting it. A slave of God should think only of worshipping Him, caring nothing for food and drink".116

The following poetic pieces in translation further substantiate Nur al-Din's spiritual philosophy.

> No one can take anything from him to whom God has given,
> Time and chance are only a means to an end.
> For one, whom God will abandon no one can provide,
> Neither intelligence nor high caste shall help him.[117]
>
> .....
>
> He was, He is and He shall be,
> So remember Him constantly here !
> He will remove all (your) anxieties
> So come to your sense at once.[118]

Shaikh Nur al-Din launched a scathing critique of the Mullas of his times. The Mullas in posing to be the standard-bearers of Islamic learning lost the sight of the esoteric (batin) aspects of religious life. Besides, they were malicious, arrogant, hypocritical and materialist in their behaviour and conduct. They were devoid of spiritual merit and moral excellence. Shaikh does not deem encyclopaedic learning to be a sufficient condition for one's salvation. What is important is to cultivate an authentic craving for God. An authentic believer need not be a great exgete or a profound theologian. A sincere devotee reciting Al-Hamud, Qul-huwa'allah and Attahiyat can attain salvation[119] :

"The true spirit of Al-Hamud Qul-hu-wa'allah
and Attahiyat,
If practised in everyday life, is equivalent
to learning the Quran,
See, is not it futile to learn like the
Satan,
Who was doomed despite his learning".[120]

.....

Who will kindle in this life,
The lamp of knowledge and religion,
Who will renounce fraud and adopt true
knowledge,
The essence of all knowledge is alif lam and
mim.[121]

.....

He will reach the goal,
Who has comitted to heart,
Alhamud, Qulhu-Allah, Attahiyat,
Realise your essence my soul.[122]

As against the scholastic and theological approach of Mullas Shaikh advocated a deep ethical and spiritual orientation to be the criterion of being a Muslim. Prof. M. Ishaq Khan substantiates this interpretation of Shaikh's perspective on religion :

"The hallmarks of a true Muslim are virtues such as forgiveness, kindness, tolerance, mercy, generosity, compassion, patience, humility and above all, the earnest desire to earn an honest living. He condemns such negative norms of behaviour as anger, jealousy, intolerance, and vindictiveness. Although the retributive form of justice is sanctioned in the Quran, Nur al-Din does not advocate it. On the contrary, he lays stress on the wider Quranic context which enjoins the Muslim to give up the right of retribution for such an act raises his status both in the eyes of God and man. That he gives mercy and kindness the place of supermacy in the ethical system of the Quran can hardly be overstressed".123

Shaikh was not a scholar of the Quran. However, through his powerful intuition, he had grapsed the quintessence of the Quranic message and wisdom. He wondered at the Mulla's verbalisation of Quranic injunctions, while being blissfully ignorant of its spirit. One who grasps the deep spiritual nuances of the Quran can not afford to show-off one's scholarship in terms of pointless conventional theological disagreements and debates. The acid test of understanding the Quran is to be so infused with its wisdom that one surrenders to it in the ultimate act of self-annihilation.

> (O Muslim)
> How come you did not die while studying the Quran ?
> How come your very existence did not turn into ashes ?
> How come you continue living even after reciting the Quran?
> Mansur was set ablaze while studying the Quran
> How come grief did not strike you even after studying the Quran
> And Satan robbed you of your spiritual merit
> Those who really studied the Quran wept day in and day out.
> Their bones transmuted into ashes while weeping.[124]

In man's perennial struggle between material affluence and spiritual excellence, Shaikh opted for the latter. Shaikh was convinced that our spiritual advancement entails self-control and freedom from material pomp and show. A spiritually meaningful existence demands that we adopt an ethic of contentment and self-restraint:

Poverty is a shield against Hell,
Poverty is the virtue of prophets,
Poverty is the wealth of this and the next world,
Poverty is sweet and fragrant,
One who is steadfast in the path of poverty,
so will be honoured here and the Hereafter.[125]

Nur al-Din's poetry is intensely informed by love of and devotion to God. He is fully devoted to God. He is exclusively absorbed into God. He is completely indifferent to all except Him. He stands for complete self-control. His advocacy of suppression of personal desires is the hallmark of his poetic discourse. For Nur al-Din an authentic lover transcends all personal considerations. He is not only oblivious of fleshy desires but indifferent even to spiritual pleasures. He is inspired and motivated only by contemplation of his beloved. His authentic love is all-consuming. It spells inexplicable restlessness. It signifies inscrutable and insurmountable suffering :

"Love is the death of a mother's only son,
Love is the venomous sting of a Swarm of wasps,
Can the lover have any rest ?
Love is a rope dripping with blood.
Can the wearer (lover) even utter a sigh?'[126]

.....

"The lover is he who burns with love,
whose self shines like Gold.
When man's heart lights up,
with the flame of love,
then shall he reach 'La-makan'.[127]

For Nur al-Din man's base nature (nafs) is the greatest impediment in his spiritual highway. The way to God cannot be traversed by those who are in the grip of

the allurements of Nafs. The lower self or Nafs deserves to be crushed. It is reported that shaikh once saw some people cooking fish at Mattan. His mouth began to water. However, instead of picking up a piece of fish, he put a burning piece of wood in his mouth, to teach his wayward Nafs a lesson.[128] It shows how much emphasis Shaikh put on subjugating one's baser self. Shaikh is reported to have first given up taking bread, than vegetables and then milk. Later on, he would subsist on water for months together. Accordingly, the foremost duty of a seeker is to control one's self :

> "The belly is the stronghold of the nafs, and to fight the nafs is a most meritorious holy war (Jihad),
> If one subdues his nafs,
> one is a great soul and his efforts are pure worship".[129]
>
> .....
>
> "The nafs has disturbed me greatly
> The nafs has ruined me entirely.
> It is the nafs which makes us destroy others.
> The nafs is the slave of the devil".[130]
>
> ......
>
> "To serve the nafs is to thrust ashes into one's own eyes.
> How then can one expect to see?"[131]
>
> ....
>
> "The nafs is just like a rebellious calf, which sould be tied up
> It should be threatened with the stick of fasting". [132]
>
> ......
>
> "Desire is like the knotted.
> Wood of the forest,
> It cannot be made into planks,
> beams or cradles
> He who cut and filed it will burn
> it into ashes".[133]

The Rishi order founded by Shaikh Nur al-Din was carried on by such distinguished disciples of Shaikh as Baba Bam al-Din[134], Baba Zain al-Din[135], Baba Latifa al-Din[136], Baba Nasra al-Din[137] and Baba Qiyam al-Din[138] who are burried at Bamuzu, Aish-Maqam, Poskar, Charar and Manzgam respectively. These disciples of Shaikh, in turn, had scores of followers who preached the ideals and values of Rishi order throughout length and breadth of the valley.

IV. SUFI-POETS

Leading sufi orders were introduced and established in Kashmir during 14th and 15th centuries A.D. Some prominent sufis such as Shaikh Hamza Makhdum, Baba Daud Khaki, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Ismail Kubravi provided spiritual leadership to the people of Kashmir during 16th century A.D. The patron-saint of Kashmir, Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali, had by then, already established Muslim-Rishi order during early 15th century. However, after 16th century, Sufism started losing its vitality and glory, although thousands of sufis continued to adorn the scene during subsequent centuries.

From 17th century onwards sufi poetry gained momentum and hundreds of sufi-poets expressed sufi doctrines and values through Kashmiri verses of great beauty. Some of the prominent poets may be cited below by way of illustration :

Khwaja Habibullah Nowshahari Hubbi (1555-1617) was a famous sufi-poet of Kashmir of his times. He was well-versed in Arabic and Persian literature. Mulla Hasan Afaqui, a prominent scholar of 16th century was his teacher. Hubbi wrote in Arabic, Persian and Kashmiri languages. He was a well-known Persian and Kashmiri poet of 16th century. Hubbi was a disciple of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi and subsequently emerged as an eminent sufi mentor in the valley.[139]

Another prominent sufi-poet of Kashmir was Mumin Sahib. He was born at Bebesgam in the modern District of Pulwama. He emerged as an eminent sufi-mentor of 18th century Kashmir. His disciples included such important poets as Soch-e-Kral, Mehmud Gami and Karam Baland. Mumin apart from being a Kashmiri poet had also written a summarised version of Farid al-Din Attar's Mantiq al-Tayyar in Kashmiri.[140]

Another important sufi-poet was Soch-e-Kral (1774-1854). He was born at Yandar near Pulwama Town. He was a disciple of Mumin Sahib. Moti-Lal Saqui, a well-known historian of Kashmiri literature and critic opines that Soch-e-Kral subscribed to the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud. Soch-e-Kral along with Karm Baland and Mehmud Gamai were disciples of Mumin Sahib and all the four subscribed to the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud.[141]

Shah Ghafoor was an 18th century poet of Kashmir. He was born at Chun in the District of Badgam. He was a contemporary of Soch-e-Kral. However he is counted amongst leading sufi-poets of Kashmir. Shah Ghafoor too subscribed to the doctrine of Wadhat al-Wujud. Moti Lal Saqi points out that he was well-versed in the Vendant philosophy of Ramanuja and Madhava as well.[142]

Another important sufi-poet Karam Bland was born at Zhoidur, Birwah in 18th century and died in 1840s. He too was a disciple of Mumin Sahib. Following Mumin Sahib, he believed in the doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujud.[143]

Another important sufi-poet of Kashmir was Rehman Dar. He was born at Chezh-e-Bal, Srinagar. He belonged to Kubravi order initiated by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani in Kashmair•Rehman Dar had a band of followers and this line continues till date. Prominent amongst his followers were Ustad Habib, Ustad Khaliq, Quadir Sahib, Gul Mir Asi and Samad Mir. Samad Mir's grandson continues this tradition till date. Professor Mohi al-Din Hajani has maintained that Rehman Dar died in 1900 A.D. However, Moti-Lal Saqi has estimated that he passed away in 1875 A.D.[144]

Another important sufi-poet of Kashmir was Rahim Sahib Sopori. He was born at or around Sopore in 1775 A.D. and died in 1850 at Sopore. He belonged to Qadri order and his mentor was Qudir Sahib of Dangiweha. His poetry has been very popular throughout 19th and 20th

centuries and continues to be sung till date by popular folk-singers as well as professionals.[145]

Other important sufi-poets were Na'am Sahib (1805-1880), Shah Qualandar (d. 1880), Shamas Faquir (1843-1901), Ahmad Dar (d. 19260, Waza Mahmud, Wahab Khar (1912 or 1914), Samad Mir (1959) etc. All these poets except Wahab Khar were born at Srinagar. Wahab Khar was born at Khrew, Pampore, ten miles northeast of Srinagar.[146]

Most of these sufi-poets were inspired by the philosophy of Wahadat al-Wujud. The cultural unconscious of Kashmir was already deeply influenced by the philosophy of vedanta and Shaivism. The poetry of Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali in fifteenth century also incorporated elements of the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud. Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi's Persian poetry in sixteenth century was openly advocating the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud. Forthermore, the impact of Persian poetry was also felt by Kashmiri poets. The cumulative impact was a strong espousal of the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud advocated by Mohi al-Din Ibn al-Arabi in twelfth century.

The 12th century was crucial in the history of sufism. It saw the emergence of the theory of Wahdat al-wujud, the most popular and the most controversial of sufi doctrines till date. The theory was advanced by the celebrated Spanish sufi-philosopher Mohi al-Din Ibn al-Arabi. He managed to reconcile varying sufi views on

Reality and reoriented them into an integrated metaphysical scheme.

The fundamental contention of Wahdat al-Wujud is that all existence is one. The apparent multiplicity of the world is a manifestation of the one underlying Reality.[147] Reality is one and all apparent multiplicity is a graduated series of modifications. The phenomenal world is the outward manifestation of the Real.[148] The existence of the created things is nothing but the very essence of the existence of the creator.[149]

This is obviously a radical thesis and cannot be readily integrated with the dominant or mainstream sunni Asharite ontocosmological perspective on or interpretation of the Quranic discourse. Ibn al-Arabi tries to clarify his position by offering symbols and similies with a view to bring out his contention with regard to the relationship between the multiplicity of the phenomenal world and the underlying essential unity. A.E. Affifi offers the following account with a view to summarise the style and substance of Ibn al-Arabi :

> "The one reveals Himself in the many, he says, as an object is revealed in different mirrors, each mirror reflecting an image determined by its nature and its capacity as a recipient. Or it is like a source of light from which an infinite number of lights are derived. Or like a substance which penetrates and permeates the forms of existing objects. Thus, giving them their meaning and being. Or it is like a mighty sea on the surface of which we observe countless waves for ever appearing and

> disappearing. The eternal drama of existence is nothing but this ever-renewed creation (al-khlaq al Jadid) which is in reality perpetual process of self-revelation. Or again, he might say, the one is the real Being and the phenomenal world is its shadow having no reality in itself". [150]

For ibn al-Arabi, emanation is not like that of plotinus, one thing overflowing from the Absolute one, than another from the first thing in the form of a chain. To Ibn al-Arabi emanation meant that one and the same reality variously determines and delimits itself and appears immediately in the forms of different things.[151] Ibn al-Arabi tries to derive his theory of self-manifestation of the Absolute from the famous Hadith Qudsi,

> 'I am a hidden Treasure
> I yearned to be known
> That is why I produced creatures
> in order to be known in them'.

The Divine Being is the creator because He wished to know Himself and therefore determined Himself in various manifestations. For ibn al-Arabi, creation is essentially the revelation of the Divine Being to Himself. Ibn al-Arabi did not believe in the traditional theory of creation viz., God creating everything out of nothing. To him an absolute beginning from nothing did not mean anything. The world continued being created anew every moment according to Ibn al-Arabi.[152]

Ibn al-Arabi accorded cosmic significance to man. Man was a small universe, a well-polished mirror reflecting objects as they really were. All the attributes

embodied in the universe were found in man. A perfect man was the epitome of all understanding and the vice-gerency of God on earth. The perfect man was the first Epiphany of God. Sometimes the perfect man is identified with the Logos. The perfect man having actualised in himself the Absolute was permeated by the Absolute. Mystical union, to ibn al-Arabi, did not amount to becoming one with God, rather it was a realisation of an already existing union. Self-realisation was God-realisation.[153]

The above doctrine popularly known as Wahdat al-Wujud inspired thousands of sufis in Central Asia, South Asia and North Africa. The doctrine has been severely attacked by highly respectable theological quarters. However, countless poets with philosophical bent of mind have readily appropriated ibn al-Arabi's world-view and value-system. Especially the theme of the essential unity of man and God has been received by sufi-poets as the ultimate boon of blessing. Some of the greatest Persian poets such as Attar, Rumi, Hafiz, Bedil, and Ghalib have been inspired by Ibn al-Arabi's vision. In view of the fact that "Islam was introduced in the valley of Kashmir by Central Asian and Persian sufis, the impact of Persian language and literature was deeply registered by people of Kashmir. For six hundred years, Persian language was the medium of instruction and education in Kashmir.

In fact, Kashmir was known as 'Iran-i-Saghir' (little Iran). In view of the same Kashmiri sufi-poets too were inspired by Persian sufi poetry. Most Kashmiri sufi-poets were deeply influenced by the philosophy of Wahdat al-Wujud as outlined by Ibn al-Arabi. In fact, during 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, the doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujud became a dominant intellectual trend and poetic theme in the valley. Most of the Kashmiri poets gave vent to their creativity under the impact of the philosophy of Wahdat al-Wujud.

Some poetic pieces of some leading Kashmiri sufi-poets have been given as follows, in translation. They may clearly bring out the impact of the thesis of Ibn al-Arabi on Kashmiri poetry. These pieces have been taken from Keshir Sufi shairi, an anthology of Kashmiri sufi poetry edited by Moti Lal Saqi under the auspices of Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, culture and Languages. The anthology has been published in 1985 from Srinagar :

"Turn inside thine own self
You will gain in faith
You will see the Lord
What else have you been able to gain?
Momin hold your tongue
The drop has been transformed into a river;
Contentment is from Allah
What else have you been able to gain"

(Momin)

.....

"Realise Oneness and give up duality
Realise yourself within yourself
In every colour came colourless Self
Realise yourself within yourself".

(Momin)

.....

"O Myself who I am
He (Allah) is everything and I merely a pretense,
Soch-e-kral went on seeing
Nothing exists besides Allah,
I collapsed while trying to utter it
He (Allah) is everything and I merely a pretense".

(Soch-e-Kral)

.....

"Do not count you and I as separate
O! dear, such is your illusion
Do not waste your life
You are caught into pretensions,
Dualism will lead you astray
O! dear, such is your illusion".

(Soch-e-Kral)

.....

"I asked Him (Allah) what is inside and what is outside
He replied what is inside is very much what is outside"
I asked Him (Allah) what is your locus standi
He replied, "There happens neither morning nor evening"
I asked Him (Allah) disclose to me your Being
He replied "You should yourself remove your illusory roadblocks"

(Sock-e-kral)

.....

"The river exists inside a ripple
The boat is inside river and river is inside boat".

(Soch-e-Kral)

.....

"I saw Him everywhere
Not an atom exists but is permeated by Him"

(Shamas Faqir)

.....

"The plenitude of Allah is fathomless
The uninitiated cannot grasp His circumference,
All cannot grasp the Meaning
Only spiritually wisened can grasp it,
How can I tell you what is what
His lovers continue living while dying
O Shamas prove this contention
If you are an authentic seeker"

(Shamas Faqir)

.....

"His is the source and His is the water,
The river gushed forth from the drop,
If you want to understand surrender yourself completely, wherefrom did the source spring up?"

(Shamas Faqir)

.....

"O intoxicated shams you blurted out various love stories,
He (Allah) is Himself His Lover and Himself His Beloved".

(Shamas Faqir)

.....

"Surrender yourself to every creed
See the manifestation of the
Beloved in every face,
He is Himself a drop in the stream
And the stream gushes forth from the drop,
Realise the Reality
O intoxicated seeker of this world,
See the manifestation of the
Beloved in every face".

(Rahman Dar)

.....

"Manifest is His beatitude day in and day out
Can you tell me what does that mean ?,
His Essence and Attributes are transmuted into unity
Can you tell me what does that mean?

(Rahman Dar)

.....

"In every colour dyed is He Himself,
Embellishing Himself is He Himself,
Loving Himself is He Himself,
Acknowledging that is He Himself".

(Wahab Khar)

.....

"Putting on Attributes the Essence is manifested
Without seeking permission thereof,
Himself posited behind Himself
Vacuous is not man's reality"

(Wahab Khar)

.....

"How the unity manifested itself?
It is manifested from top to bottom,
The Resplendence of Essence is inexhaustible
I swear by Your Resplendence".

(Rahim Sb.)

.....

"I uttered Anal Haq
When realisation dawned upon me".
(Rahim Sb.)

.....

"I fell in deep love with the unity
Wherefrom did this river spring up?
Come out and drink from this river
Now I remembered He (Allah) is qualified as I"
(Na'am Sb.)

.....

"When I transcended the Boundless
This world and afterlife were left behind
Now I found Him, now I lost Him
This really is the realm of wonder".
(Na'im Sb.)

.....

"Need for company and knowledge was
forgotten in the realm of wonder,
My life-boat is caught into the vortex
of the Realm Most Sacred,
He (Allah) should have Infinite at His beck
and call,
Now I remembered He is qualified as I"
(Na'im Sb.)

.....

"Boundless realm is well-established
That is the abode of my Beloved (Allah),
On every side is Kaba and whereto
Should I kneel down
Glory is self-introducing"
(Ahmad Rah)

.....

"You (Allah) are everything and I but a
nonentity
What for did I lose my sleep?
That fire of love is supremely powerful
That which burnt my heart,
That fire emanates neither smoke nor flame
What for did I lose my sleep".
(Karam Bland)

.....

"O Love ! What a lovely beloved you are
It is because of you that fortune smiled on me
My being is experiencing pangs of
Anal Haq like that of Mansur,
My body is aching like that of Mansur,
However, the sword of Shariah is hovering over
my head".
(Waza Mahmud)

Kashmiris have always been fascinated by the phenomenon of mysticism. After their conversion to Islam they were greatly attracted to sufism or Islamic mysticism. In fact, it were such eminent sufis as Bulbul Shah and Shah Hamadan who inaugurated the conversion of Kashmiri people to islam in 14th century. Thereafter, Kashmiri people tried eagerly to cultivate Ilm al-Tasawwuf. In fact their understanding of Islam is very much determined by their orientation to sufi ideology. Their culture has been deeply defined and determined by Tasawwuf. It continues to inspire the people of Kashmir till date.

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CONCLUSION

C O N C L U S I O N

Kashmir has experienced several cultural and civilizational transformations during its long-drawn-out and chequred history. Apart from its ancient tribal culture, it has been enriched by Hindu and Buddhist religious and cultural traditions in its pre-Islamic history and has been a great centre of Sanskrit Scholarship and Buddhist learning. It underwent a major cultural transformation during 14th century A.D., when its people were slowly and steadily converted to Islamic world-view and value-system by Central Asian and Persian sufi saints. The first prominent sufi saint who was instrumental in converting the people of Kashmir to Islam was Syed Sharaf al-Din Abdur Rahman Bulbul Shah. He was a Central Asian Suharwardi saint, who converted Rinchana Shah to Islamic beliefs and values during the beginning of 14th century A.D. This heralded the Islamic era of the history of Kashmir. The process of Islamisation was carried on and successfully completed by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani (Shah Hamadan) along with hundreds of his fellow-sufis. The sufi missionaries from Central Asia and Persia under the guidance of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani undertook a massive educational programme and introduced the people of the valley to Islamic beliefs, values, injunctions, practices, rituals and modes of behaviour. Apart from pioneering educational efforts Mir Syed Ali Hamadani also introduced the people of Kashmir to Islamic sciences viz.

Ilm al-Tafsir, Ilm al-Hadith, Ilm al-Fiqh and Ilm al-Tasawwuf. Hamadani was a versatile theologian of Islam. He was well-versed in Islamic sciences and scores of his books illustrate his multi-dimensional Islamic learning and scholarship. Several of his books quote extensively from the Quran followed by relevant explanations and illustrations thereof. Hundreds of the traditions of the prophet(s) are also quoted, explained and illustrated by Mir Syed Ali Hamadani in such works as Zakhirat al-Muluk, al-Awradiyah, Chehal Hadith, al-Sabin Fil-Fadhail Amir al-Muminin, Risala Raudhat al-Firdous, al-Muadah Fil-Qurba-wa-Ahl al-Aba, al-Sab'in fi Fadhail Amir al-Muminin and Arba'in Ameeriyan. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani also quoted Quranic verses and traditions of the prophet(s) in his writings and derived juristic inferences therefrom. He especially laid stress on basic beliefs and values of Islam. As a missionary he was more interested in introducing the fundamental principles of faith. In his Zakhirat al-Muluk he has elaborated on the conditions and norms of daily prayers, fasting, zakat (charity) and Haj and on basic beliefs such as belief in the ultimacy of Allah, belief in prophets of Allah, belief in scriptures, belief in the angels and belief in the day of judgement. In Zakirat al-Muluk Shah Hamadan also brings out a list of Gunah-i-Kabirah (great sins). Mir Syed Ali Hamadani also introduced the people of Kashmir to Ilm al-Tasawwuf. He was an eminent sufi of Kubravi order and several of his

treatises explained and illustrated the fundamental concepts of Ilm al-Tasawwuf. In his Risala Makkarim-i-Ikhlaq he recommended what sufis should not do and in his Risala-i-Dah Qa'ida he prescribed what sufis ought to do. The sufis should give up seven cardinal sins such as Bukhl, Gusah, Hirce, Haqad, Shahwat, Kibr and Hasad. They should observe ten rules such as Tauba, Zuhd, Tawakkul, Qana'at, Uzlat, Zikr, Tawajjuh, Sabr, Muraqaba and Riza. Furthermore, Shah Hamadan brought various levels of Mu'rifa (Gnosis), such as, Ma'rifa-i-Ilmi (cognitive or conceptual stage), Ma'rifa-i-Istidilali (rational or intellectual stage) and Ma'rifa-i-Mushahada (spiritual stage). Shah Hamadan also classified sufis into Taliban, Salikan, Muqarraban and Sidiqan respectively experiencing the love of God in the world of senses (alm-i-Nasut), world of similitude (alm-i-Misal) realm of purity or beatitude (alm-i-Malkut) and spiritual realm (alm-i-Jabrut). Shah Hamadan also enumerates various paths taken by a seekar at various stages of spiritual progress; beginners taking rah-i-arbab-i-mu'amlat, Muqtasidan (those who follow the middle path) taking rah-i-arbab-i-mujahada and Sa'iran-i-hazrat-i-samdiat (travellers to the court of the Most High) taking to rah-i-arbab-i-Ma'rifa.

After Mir Syed Ali Hamadani's departure for Persia many prominent Central Asian sufis and scholars such as Taj al-Din, Syed Husain, Mir Syed Jamal al-Din Attai, Syed

Muhammad Quraish, Syed Abdullah, Syed Rukn al-Din, Syed Fakhar al-Din, Syed Kamal al-Din Sani and Jamal al-Din Muhadith continued their missionary activities in the valley. Some local saints such as Shaikh Sulaiman, Shaikh Ahmad, Shaikh Fathullah Hafiz, and Shaikh Ismail Kabravi too were involved in teaching and preaching of the fundamentals of Islam and initiating the people to the sufi way of life. The most prominent among them was Shaikh Ismail Kubravi who founded a seminary and a Khanqah at Koh-i-Maran Srinagar. He was subsequently appointed Shaikh al-Islam by Hasan Shah who was ruling Kashmir from 1472 upto 1484 A.D. Mir Syed Ali Hamadani's son Mir Muhammad Hamadani also arrived in Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar, who ruled from 1389 upto 1413 A.D. Mir Muhammad Hamadani is accredited of having introduced standards of Islamic Sharia in Sultan Sikandar's administration and in the then Muslim society.

After Shah Hamadan, the most important impact on the religious consciousness of the Kashmiri people was that of Alamdar-i-Kashmir Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali. Though he was not a scholar of Islamic sciences, most historians and majority of the people consider him to be the greatest saint of Kashmir. He was the founder of Muslim Rishi order of Kashmir.

Shaikh had a firm faith in the fundamental doctrines of Islam. His philosophy of God is in full accord with orthodox Islamic theology. He also underlined

the complete dependence of man on God. He advocated observance of ethical and spiritual values as characterising features of Muslims. He also advocated need for complete self-control and total devotion to God. In addition, he launched a powerful critique against both the theological and spiritual pretensions of the Mullas of Kashmir.

Shaikh inspired thousands of spiritually oriented people during 15th century A.D. He has been inspiring millions of Kashmiri's since then. His immediate successors such as Baba Bam al-Din, Baba Zain al-Din, Baba Latif al-Din, Baba Nasra al-Din and Baba Qiyam al-Din did also play a significant role in the propagation of Muslim Rishi methods of spiritual realisation.

Shaikh's towering personality has since been deeply instrumental in orientating the people of Kashmir towards moral and spiritual values. His original contributions in the development of Muslim Rishi methodology have also influenced the people of Kashmir in evolving a spiritual approach towards understanding of Islam and of Islamic discourse. Therefore, the significance of Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali in the religious and cultural evolution of Kashmir can hardly be overstressed.

After Shaikh Nur al-Din Wali, the most important and long-lasting impact on the religious consciousness of

Kashmir was that of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He had graduated from the seminary of Shaikh Ismail Kubravi at Srinagar. He was well-versed in the commentary of the Quran, problems of Fiqh and sufi doctrines and practices. He was initiated into Suharwardi Order by Syed Jamal al-Din of Bukhara and in his turn, initiated hundreds of disciples into Suharwardi Order. Shaikh Hamza Makhdum also launched a tireless struggle against ideology of the Shias of Kashmir.

Baba Dawud Khaki was a distinguished sufi and scholar of 16th century Kashmir. He was a disciple of Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. He wrote Wirdu'l Muridin and its commentary Dasturul Salikin wherein he highlighted the spiritual glories of his mentor Shaikh Hamza Makhdum. Khaki also wrote Rishi Nama wherein he recounted the biographical details of some leading Rishi saints of Kashmir.

Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi was another celebrated 16th century Sufi and scholar of Kashmir. He was well-versed in Tafsir, Hadith and Tasawwuf besides being an eminent Persian poet. He wrote a Tafsir entitled Matlab al-Talibin which, however could not be completed. He also wrote two commentaries on Hadith and compiled two Arba'in. He was a Kubravi saint and wrote Risala-i-Zikkraya in which he brought out the significance of Zikr in the sufi way of life. Sarfi's Diwan contains his Persian ghazals and

rubbaiyat. As a poet and sufi, he was committed to the philosophy of Wahdat al-Wujud.

Mulla Ahmad Allama was a distinguished Islamic jurist during the reign of Sultan Shahab al-Din Shahmiri. He was appointed Shaikh al-Islam by Shahab al-Din. His compilation on Fiqh Al-Fatawa al-Shahabiah became highly popular in Kashmir and laid the foundation of Islamic Fiqh in the valley. Another book on Fiqh was written by Ahmad bin Mahmud al-Samani during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. The book is entitled Tanveer al-Siraj which is a commentary on Abul Muhammad al Sakhawandis' al-Siraji.

During 17th century many scholars of Islamic sciences emerged on the scene. Haji Muhammad Kashmiri was a prominent scholar of Ilm al-Hadith. He wrote commentaries on four treatises on Hadith, namely, Sharh Sham'il al-Nabi, Sharh Hisan Hasin, Sharh Masharig al-Anwar and Khulasat al-Jamiah fi Jamia Hadith. Mulla Jawhar Nath was engaged in the dissemination of Ilm al-Hadith in Madrasa Sultan Qutub al-Din. Maulana Shangraf Kashmiri wrote a commentary on Shama'il Nabi. Khwaja Haider bin Feroz taught Ilm al-Hadith during 17th century A.D. Shaikh Moin al-Din Naqashbandi Kashmiri son of great Naqashbandi saint Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqashbandi wrote several books on Islamic sciences. He wrote a commentary on the Quran entitled Zubdat al-Tafasir. He also wrote a Persian exegesis of the Quran entitled Sharh al-Quran and added notes on the margins of a copy of Sahih Bukhari as

well. He was also the chief compiler of Al-Fatawa-i-Naqashbandiah. He authored two hagiographical treatises, namely, Mirat-i-Taiyiba and Kanzu's Sa'adat also. Allama Inayatullah Shawl, Shaikh Dawud Mishkawti and Muhammad Amin Ghani were other leading authorities on Hadith during 17th century A.D. Baba Nasib al-Din Ghazi was a prominent sufi of 17th century. He was the author of several hagiographical treatises such as Tazkirah-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir, Ansab-i-Mashaikh-i-Kashmir and Nur-Namah. He also wrote two Risalas on Fiqh entitled Zaruriyah Khurd and Miftah al-Salat.

During 18th century Shaikh Murad Kashmiri was a prominent scholar of the Quran. He was well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages. He wrote a dictionary of the Quranic words entitled Jami al-Mufaradat comprising of 1130 pages. Khwaja Muhammad Amin Kashmiri and Shaikh Muhammad Usman Chishti were leading authorities on Hadith. Mulla Muhammad Muhsin Kashmiri wrote a commentary on al-Hidayah, Mufti Abul Wafa Kashmiri wrote a book entitled Kitab al-Fiqh and Mulla Nur Muhammad Kashmiri wrote a commentary on Tawaziah wa-Talwiah during this very century. Mufti Sadar al-Din Khan Azurda, Muhammad bin Inayat Kashmiri, Shaikh Ahmad Waiz Kashmiri and Maulana Abdul Rashid Shopiani were leading authorities on Ilm al-Hadith and Ilm al-Fiqh during 19th century. Shopiani was an authority on Ilm al-Tafsir as well.

Allama Anwar Shah Kashmiri was one of the most distinguished scholars of Islamic sciences in 20th century. He was engaged in the dessimination of Ilm al-Hadith throughout his life. His well-known books such as Mushkilat al-Quran, Faid al-Bari, Anwar al-Bari, Anwar al-Mahmud, Al-Araf al-Shazi, Nil al-Farqadin li-rafa yadin and Khatim-i-Nabiyin have illuminated many critical questions pertaining to Islamic studies. Maulana Muhammad Anwar Shopiani, a leading 20th century figure of Maslak Ahl-i-Hadith in Kashmir, wrote several treatises such as Talim-i-Sunnat, Bashart al-Muminin, Diwan-i-Anwari, Guldasta-Anwari and Wird al-Muhadithin. Maulana Muhammad Yousuf Shah Kashmiri wrote a Kashmiri exegesis of the Quran entitled Bayan al-Furqan al-Maruf Taleem al-Quran. Maulana Muhammad Quasim Shah Bukhari is a reputed author of several books on Islamic sciences. His book Irshadat-i-al-Nabwiyah incorporates a transparent analysis of hundreds of the traditions of the prophet(s) and also carries out illuminating discussion on various questions of Fiqh.

Four leading religious organisations namely, Anjuman-i-Nusrat ul-Islam, Anjuman-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, Anjuman-i-Tabligh-ul-Islam and Jamm'at-i-Islami have discussed multiple questions pertaining to Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh and Tasawwuf through their books, pamphlets, periodicals, journals and news papers in this very century also. They have also discussed fundamental principles of

Islamic faith in keeping with their respective ideological perspectives on Islam. Their ideological controversies have gone a long way in educating the Muslims of Kashmir on fundamentals of Islam. These controversies continue to be debated till date.

After 1947 a new generation of scholars has written on various aspects of Islamic sciences. Professor Mohi al-Din Hajani, Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki, Mir Ab-Rashid Nazki, Professor Mashal Sultanpuri, Ghulam Nabi Wani Gauhar, Nishat Ansari, Muhammad Yousuf Taing, Mufti Jalal al-Din, Professor Muhammad Abdullah Shaida, Professor Margub Banhali, Professor Rahman Rahi, Muhammad Amin Kamil, Professor Muhammad Zaman Azurda, Shafi Shouq, Gulshan Majid, Yousuf Mashhoor and Shad Ramzan have extensively written on sufism, especially on Muslim Rishi order. Professor Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi has given a clear and categorical account on the development of sufism in Kashmir in his book entitled Sufism in Kashmir. Professor Muhammad Isqah Khan has written a book on Muslim Rishi Order entitled Kashmir's Transition to Islam - The Role of Muslim Rishis, Professor Muhammad Farooq Bukhari has written several books on Islamic sciences including Kashmir Mein Arabi ulum Aur IslamiSaquafat Ki Isha'at, Allama Muhammad Anwar Shah Kashmiri Aur Unke Ilmi Kamalat and Kashmir Main Islamic Saquafat Key Tareekhi Marahil, Peerzada Abdul Khaliq Tahiri has authored several books on Islamic sciences. Dr. Muhammad Ashraf Wani has written

several significant articles on the Islamisation of Kashmir in its historical perspective. Dr. Muhammad Yunus Gilani, Dr. Naseem Ahmad Shah, Dr. Hamid Naseem Rafiabadi, Dr. Abdul Rashid Bhat, Dr. Ghulam Nabi Khaki and Dr. Hayat Amir are presently working on different aspects of Islamic sciences. Dr. Ghulam Qadir Lone has carried out a highly authenticated research work on sufism in his book entitled Mutala-e-Tasawwuf : Quran Aur Sunnat Ki Roshni Main, contesting therein, the very islamic justification of sufi doctrines and practices.

The present work has attempted to give an outline of the development of Islamic sciences in Kashmir. Accordingly a historical account of the development of Islamic sciences such as Ilm al-Tafsir ,Ilm al-Hadith, Ilm al-Fiqh and Ilm al-Tasawwuf has been worked out in the main body of this thesis. The treatment has largely been descriptive and analytical.

While surveying the development of Islamic sciences in Kashmir, it can readily be understood that the Islamisation of Kashmir has been initiated and carried out by Central Asian sufis and scholars. Bulbul Shah and Shah Hamadan have played pioneering role in this regard. Subsequently, hundreds of Central Asian sufis have carried out the task of teaching and preaching the fundamentals of Islam to the people of Kashmir. While sufis belonging to various orders have come from Central Asia, a local order

known as Rishi order also played a significant role in the process of Islamisation of Kashmir. Thus the impact of sufism on Kashmir has been the most profound. Shah Hamadan's writings, hagiographical literature from Central Asia and Persian sufi-poetry have largely determined the values and beliefs of Kashmiri Muslims as well as their approach to and understanding of the Islamic discourse. Subsequent work done on Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh and Tasawwuf has also been largely inspired by scholars from Central Asia and West Asia, wherefrom, the original collections and compilations on Islamic sciences did reach Kashmir. The scholars of Kashmir have, by and large, written commentaries on the original contributions. Such institutes as Madrasa Sultan Shihab al-Din, Madrasa Sultan Qutb al-Din, Madrasa Sultan Sikandar, Madrasa Urwat al-Wusuqa, Dar al-ulum of Sultan Zain al-Abidin, Madrasa Darush Shifa, Darasgah-i-Mulla Haider, Madrasa-i-Khwajagan -i-Naqshband and Madrasa-i-Syed Mansur at best imparted the doctrinal, normative and legal fundamentals to the people of the valley.

While in Post-independence era many scholars have attempted to write on various aspects of the history of Islam, no systematic effort has been carried out to write a comprehensive history of Islam and Islamic sciences in Kashmir. This is an encyclopaedic task and can be accomplished by a team of scholars who are well-versed in

traditional Islamic sciences as well as trained in modern methodologies of research. Such a task entails the establishment of an Advanced Institute of Islamic Sciences in the valley where traditional ulama and modern historians and social scientists can together work out a comprehensive history of Islamic sciences in Kashmir. Such a Research Institute can also reinterpret Islamic world-view and value-system in the light of contemporary requirements with a view to guide the coming generations. Hopefully, the outline of the development of Islamic sciences in Kashmir carried out in this thesis at the fag end of twentieth century will stimulate scholars of twenty-first century.

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